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No 313

LIFE

OF

OLIVER CROMWELL

BY THE

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LIFE

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CHAPTER I.

Extending from the Execution of Charles, to the Subjugation of Ireland by Cromwell.

The execution of the king struck with amazement the whole people of England. The royalists had not permitted themselves to believe that the republicans were in earnest, or that the formalities of a trial were intended for any other purpose than to compel Charles to submit to their terms, and to relinquish all such parts of the prerogative as appeared inconsistent with their more enlarged notions of freedom. But the event which marked the 30th of January removed all doubts as to the future views of the military faction, by whom it was brought to pass. It was now manifest that Cromwell and his confederates had resolved, not only to take away the life of the sovereign, but also to abolish monarchy in the nation, and to substitute in its place a form of government which should admit neither king nor House of Peers.

An attempt was made, meanwhile, to recruit the ranks of parliament, by filling up some of the vacant seats by new elections, and by receiving, on certain

conditions, a few of the excluded members. The Lords likewise met, and on the sixth of February proceeded to business; but the Commons, mindful of their secession during the trial of his majesty, refused to recognize them, and took no notice of some bills which were sent down for their consideration. In a few days afterward, they passed a resolution to make no more addresses to the Peers, nor to receive any from them; and finally, that as the existence of an Upper House was useless and dangerous, it ought to be forthwith abolished. About the same time they voted the extinction of monarchical government in England; declaring it high-treason to proclaim, or any otherwise to acknowledge, Charles Stuart, commonly called Prince of Wales. In pursuance of the same object, they issued orders to engrave a new Great Seal, on which was represented their own assembly in the act of deliberation, and the following legend inscribed, "ON THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM BY GOD'S BLESSING RESTORED, 1648." The statues of his late majesty, too, at St. Paul's and the Royal Exchange, were thrown down by directions from parliament; and on the pedestal which supported the latter was written, "EXIT TYRANNUS, REGUM ULTIMUS"—*The tyrant, the last of the kings, is gone.*

To conduct the administration of affairs, a council of state was nominated, consisting of forty-one members, among whom were Fairfax, Cromwell, Bradshaw, St. John, and the younger Vane. Upon this body devolved the duties which formerly attached to the crown and its ministers in the two Houses. They received all addresses on national concerns; gave orders to generals, admirals, and all others employed in the public service; received and answered letters from foreign governments; executed the laws against criminals and offenders; and submitted to parliament all such questions as respected matters of finance, the expediency of peace or of war, and

the enactment of statutes suited to the wants of the infant commonwealth. As this power was acknowledged to come from the people, so did the council of state profess their intention of restoring it to the community at large, whenever they should have succeeded in setting the republic on a permanent basis.

The public mind had long been distracted by theories of government, as well as by theological speculations, of which the main object was to subvert every ancient institution, and to reconcile the nation to a complete change in all the wonted forms of church and state. Such, indeed, was the rage for innovation among a certain class of politicians, that the parliamentary leaders had no sooner taken upon themselves the direction of affairs, than they found that the great breach in the constitution to which they had given countenance was about to admit a host of radical reformers, determined to achieve alterations still more alarming. The fanatics who had sprung up in the army, and whose principles, now ingrafted upon those of the levellers, announced an immediate return to the state of equality in which the human race originally existed, framed a remonstrance, and sent it by the hands of five agitators to the general and council of war. Although in this step they did no more than follow the example which had been set to them by those whom they now addressed, it was thought necessary to check, by an unusual severity, a practice so inconsistent with military subordination. Lockier, an individual who belonged to a troop which refused to march without payment of arrears, was condemned to be shot. The sentence was executed in a yard near St. Paul's; but this punishment was so far from quelling the mutinous spirit which prevailed among the soldiers, that the funeral was attended by more than a thousand of them, accompanied by five times that number of citizens, men and women, who wore in their

hats ribands of a black and sea-green colour, indicative, it was said, of an approaching storm.*

A more formidable insurrection took place at Banbury, under Captain Thompson, who, at the head of several hundred men, published a manifesto, called "England's Standard Advanced," and invited the discontented regiments to unite with him against the tyranny of the military council. He was attacked and his followers dispersed before the mutinous troops could join; but as a large body of horse was proceeding from Salisbury to Burford, it was deemed expedient that the lord-general and Cromwell should take the field, to prevent the further increase of disaffection. Having in one day accomplished a march of forty miles, they found themselves towards evening in the neighbourhood of the insurgent cavalry; but being unwilling to put them down by strength of hand, they began by trying the effect of negotiation with their leaders. The terms proposed by Fairfax, and the speedy redress of all grievances which they were led to expect, induced the soldiers to deliberate; who, in the mean time, so far relaxed their usual vigilance, as to allow their horses to feed in the adjoining pastures, and even to lay aside their arms and go to bed. In the night Cromwell forced his way into the town with two thousand men, while he directed Colonel Reynolds to inter-

* In a pamphlet, entitled the "Army's Martyr, or a more full relation of the barbarous and illegal proceedings of the Court-martial at Whitehall, upon Mr. Robert Lockier," there is the following notice: "At length the general and lieutenant-general came very furiously, breathing forth nothing but death to them all. But oh! how bloody and red did Cromwell look! And the general told them that they should be hanged all, and that they did deserve to be hanged presently in the court." "Another went to Colonel Whalley in behalf of this innocent, and found him come lately out of bed in his skie-colour satten waistcoat, laced with silver lace, and his pantophles dawbed with silver lace, and did present a petition to his honour, that he would be pleased to remember mercy to this poor gentleman, and mitigate the sentence to any other punishment, so as it was not to the taking away of his life. But, after many things passed between them, he said, 'that if it lay in his power to save him, he would not.'" For a petition to Fairfax, see Note A

cept the retreat of the fugitives, by taking possession of the opposite entrance. The surprise was attended with complete success. Four hundred were taken prisoners, of whom three, an officer and two corporals, suffered death; the rest were allowed to return to their respective regiments.

The events now mentioned gave rise to a literary warfare, which was carried on with great spirit by the enemies of the new government. In a pamphlet entitled the "Hunting of the Foxes," the reasoning formerly used by the officers against the parliament, is employed by the agitators with considerable effect against the council of state, who had announced their determination not to listen to petitions from the army. They quote the declarations suggested by Cromwell and Ireton, in which the military leaders told the two Houses that they were not mercenary troops hired to serve any arbitrary power of a state, but were called forth to the defence of their own and the people's just rights and liberties; and therefore, that they would not disband until their complaints had been listened to in parliament, and their just demands complied with to the fullest extent. They conclude, accordingly, "that to be denied the right of address by way of petition to the parliament, and to be tortured, enslaved, and oppressed, and not suffered to complain, but to be tormented and abused for complaining, is the highest cruelty, villany, and slavery that can be imagined—even tyranny at the height—and therefore to be opposed by the soldiery. O Cromwell! O Ireton! how hath a little time and success changed the honest shape of so many officers! Who then would have thought the council would have moved for an act to put men to death for petitioning? Who would have thought to have seen soldiers condemned by their orders to ride with their faces towards their horses' tails, to have their swords broken over their heads, and be cashiered; and that for petitioning and claiming their just right and title

to the same? We were before ruled by a king, Lords, and Commons; now by a general, a court-martial, and House of Commons; and, we pray you, what is the difference? The old king's person, and the old Lords are but removed, and a new king and new Lords, with the Commons, are in one house; and so under a more absolute monarchy than before. We have not the change of a kingdom into a commonwealth; we are only under the old cheat, the transmutation of names, but with the addition of new tyrannies to the old. For the casting out of one unclean spirit, they have brought with them in his stead seven other unclean spirits, more wicked than the former, and they have entered in and dwell there, and the last end of this commonwealth is worse than the first. Was there ever a generation of men so apostate, so false, and so perjured as these? Did ever men pretend a higher degree of holiness, religion, and zeal to God and their country than these? These preach, these fast, these pray, these have nothing more frequent than the sentences of Sacred Scripture, the name of God, and of Christ, in their mouths. You shall scarce speak to Cromwell about any thing, but he will lay his hand on his breast, elevate his eyes, and call God to record; he will weep, howl, and repent, even while he doth smite you under the fifth rib. Captain Joyce and Captain Vernon can tell you sufficient stories to that purpose."*

But the affairs of Ireland had appeared of so much importance to the parliament and council of state, that one of their first measures was to appoint Cromwell to the military command of that country. The

* The Hunting of the Foxes from Newmarket and Triplow Heaths to Whitehall, by five small Beagles, late of the Armie; Or, the Grandee Deceivers unmasked, that you may know them. Directed to all the Free Commons of England, but in especial to all that have and are still engaged in the military service of the Commonwealth. By Robert Ward, Thomas Watson, Simeon Graunt, George Jellis, and William Sawyer, late members of the army. (1649.)

name of this distinguished general was first mentioned at the former Board, and by them recommended to the House; by both of whom he was unanimously elected to conduct the war against the royalists in that island, as well as to take revenge on the Catholics for the cruelties committed by them in the progress of their rebellion. It is said, that when Oliver presented himself in parliament to accept his new office, he affected surprise at the nomination, and made his acknowledgments with much hesitation and perplexity. He said something, as usual, about his great unworthiness, and even of his inability to undertake so weighty a charge; but, with an amiable inconsistency, of which he was perhaps altogether unconscious, he professed "that the difficulty which appeared in the expedition was his chief motive for engaging in it;" and that though he could hardly expect to prevail over the rebels, he hoped, nevertheless, to preserve to the commonwealth some footing in that kingdom. Dr. Lingard relates, on the authority of Whitelocke and the journals, that when the appointment was offered to Cromwell, he hesitated, and requested that two officers from each corps might meet him at Whitehall, and seek the Lord in prayer. After a delay of two weeks, he condescended to submit his shoulders to the burthen, because he had learned it was the will of Heaven.*

Although no man had greater confidence than Cromwell in his own talents and a good cause, yet he thought it unwise to hazard his reputation without securing adequate means of success. He demanded from the parliament twelve thousand horse and foot, selected by himself from those veterans whom he had taught to conquer every enemy; a plentiful supply of provisions and ammunition; and a military chest containing 100,000*l.* in ready money. He

* Vol xi. p. 31.

received, in the name of outfit, 3000*l.*; ten pounds a day as general while he remained in England; and 2000*l.* per quarter in Ireland, besides his pay as lord-lieutenant.*

Being thus furnished with the carnal weapons which he required in the character of a soldier, he next applied for the spiritual armour which became him in the quality of a saint. For this purpose, on the day of his departure, he assembled his friends at Whitehall, where three ministers invoked a blessing on his banners, as about to fight the battle of the Lord against the blinded Roman Catholics of Ireland. These functionaries were succeeded by three officers, Goff, Harrison, and Cromwell himself, who expounded the Scriptures "excellently well, and pertinently to the occasion." After these outpourings. the lieutenant-general mounted his carriage, drawn by six horses; he was accompanied by the great officers of state and of the army; his life-guard, consisting of eighty young men, all of quality, and several of them holding commissions as majors and colonels, surprised the spectators by their splendid uniforms and gallant bearing; and the streets of the metropolis resounded as he drove towards Windsor, with the acclamations of the populace and the clangor of military music.†

The reader who connects this display of official pomp with the fact that Cromwell, even before the death of Charles, had taken possession of one of the 'king's rich beds at Whitehall," will be satisfied that the spiritual humility which distinguished the future Protector did not extend to the trivial matters which belonged to his outward estate.

Mr. Morrice, the author of the life of Lord Orrery, relates an anecdote of the lieutenant-general, which, as it belongs to the period at which we have now

* Council Book, July 12; No 10.
† Whitelocke. 413.

arrived, and illustrates the policy which Oliver delighted to pursue, seems worthy of a place in our narrative. His lordship, we are told, after the murder of the king, gave up all Ireland for lost, and retired into England to a small estate which he possessed in Somersetshire. Resolving, while there, to attempt something for the public good, he applied, through the Earl of Warwick, for a passport to go beyond seas, that he might recruit his health at the waters of Spa in Germany. His real object was to obtain a commission from Charles the Second, collect what money and troops he could raise in foreign countries, and return to Ireland with the view of making a last effort to assist the royalists and recover his own estates.

He had already reached London in order to prosecute his scheme, when a gentleman belonging to Cromwell came to his lodgings to let him know that the general, his master, intended to wait upon him, if he knew but the hour when he would be at leisure to receive him. Much surprised at this, since he had never had any acquaintance with Cromwell, nor ever exchanged a word with him, his lordship told the gentleman he presumed he was mistaken, and that he could not be the person to whom he was sent. The other answered, he was sent to Lord Broghil—at that time the title of Lord Orrery—and therefore if he was that lord, he was sent to him. His lordship, finding, therefore, that there was no mistake, desired the messenger to present his humble service to the general, and to let him know that he would himself wait upon him when informed of his convenience; upon which the gentleman departed. Lord Broghil, in the mean time, was mightily concerned what Oliver's business with him should be. While yet musing on the subject Cromwell came to him; and after mutual salutations, told him he had a great kindness and respect for his lordship, and therefore he was come to acquaint him with some-

thing that did very nearly concern him, and to give him his advice in the matter. He then proceeded to say that the council of state were acquainted with his designs; and in fact immediately unfolded all his lordship's secret projects. He assured him, at the same time, that he could even show copies of his letters respecting them; and added, that the council had ordered him to be sent to the Tower upon his arrival in town, which would have been immediately executed had not he himself interposed in his behalf, and procured some time to confer with him, to see whether he might not be drawn off from his purpose. Upon this, being sufficiently assured that he was discovered, Broghil begged his excellency's pardon, thanked him for his kindness, and desired to be advised what to do. Cromwell told him that neither he nor the council were strangers to his lordship's actions in the Irish war; and therefore the subduing of the rebels in that country being now left to his care, he had obtained leave to make an offer to him, that if he would serve in the wars against the Irish, he should have a general officer's command, and should have no oaths or engagements laid upon him, nor should be obliged to fight against any but the natives themselves. Amazed though he was at so generous a proposal, Broghil would nevertheless at first have excused himself, and desired some time to consider; but Cromwell told him he must resolve presently, because the council, from whom he came, were determined to send his lordship to the Tower as soon as ever he should return to them, in case this offer were not accepted. His lordship prudently agreed to the proposed terms —engaging, upon his word and honour, faithfully to assist his excellency in subduing the Irish rebellion. Upon which Cromwell briefly desired him to hasten down to Bristol, where troops should be immediately sent to him, and ships ordered to effect their

transportation into Ireland; adding, that he himself would shortly follow with the main body of the army.

It is well known that Lord Broghil fulfilled most honourably the promise given in the circumstances now described, and contributed not a little, by his important services, to complete the conquest of Ireland. Nor did he relinquish, in the mean while, his principles as a royalist, but was ready, when a favourable opportunity presented itself, to co-operate with his friends in England for the restoration of the monarchy in the person of Charles the Second.*

On the 15th of August, 1649, Cromwell reached Dublin, whence, after allowing his men two weeks to prepare for the fatigues of the approaching campaign, he proceeded to reduce Drogheda, or Tredagh, as it was then called, garrisoned by more than three thousand brave soldiers under Sir Arthur Ashton, an officer of great courage and experience. It was a rule with the parliamentary general to spend as little time as possible in the formalities of a siege, but to storm every fortress which he invested, as soon as a practicable breach could be effected in its walls. He pursued the same system at Drogheda; but as the troops within were animated by the presence of leaders who would rather be buried under the ruins of the place than submit to the fanatical host under the command of Cromwell, he met, on this occasion, with a most determined resistance. In his letter to the parliament he admits, that "through the advantages of the place, and the courage God was pleased to give the defenders, our men were forced to retreat quite out of the breach, not without some considerable loss." His veterans were induced to make a second attempt, "wherein," says he, "God was pleased to animate them so, that they got ground of the enemy, and by

* Morrice's Life of Lord Orrery, p. 9; Oliver Cromwell and his Times, p. 536.

the goodness of God forced him to quit his intrenchments; and after a very hot dispute, the enemy having both horse and foot, and we foot only within the walls, the enemy gave ground, and our men became masters."

As the humanity of Cromwell has been impeached on the evidence of the cruelties which he commanded or allowed in the sacking of Drogheda. the reader will be enabled to form his judgment on this head by perusing part of the despatch which the victor sent to his colleagues at Westminster. After he had made a passage for his cavalry into the town, "the enemy retreated, diverse into the Mill-mount, a place very strong, and of difficult access, being exceeding high, having a good graft and strongly palisadoed; the governor, Sir Arthur Ashton, and diverse considerable officers being there. our men, getting up to them, were ordered by me to put them all to the sword: and indeed, being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the town, and I think that night they put to the sword about two thousand men. Diverse of the officers and soldiers being fled over the bridge into the other part of the town, where about one hundred of them possessed St. Peter's church steeple, some the west gate, and others a strong round tower next the gate, called St. Sunday. These, being summoned to yield to mercy, refused; whereupon I ordered the steeple of St. Peter's church to be fired. The next day the other two towers were summoned, in one of which was about six or seven score—but they refused to yield themselves; and we, knowing that hunger must compel them, set only good guards to secure them from running away, till their stomachs were come down. From one of the said towers, notwithstanding their condition, they killed and wounded some of our men; when they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers

killed, and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes; the soldiers in the other tower were all spared, as to their lives only, and shipped likewise for the Barbadoes."—"I believe all the friars were knocked on the head promiscuously but two, the one of which was Father Peter Taaf, brother to the Lord Taaf, whom the soldiers took the next day and made an end of; the other was taken in the round tower, under the repute of lieutenant, and when he understood that the officers in that town had no quarter, he confessed he was a friar; but that did not save him."*

Having given these details, Cromwell adds, "I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood, and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future—which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret. And now give me leave to say how it comes to pass that this work is wrought. It was set upon some of our hearts that a great thing should be done, not by power or might, but by the Spirit of God; and is it not clearly that which caused your men to storm so courageously? It was the Spirit of God who gave your men courage and took it away again, and gave the enemy courage and took it away again, and gave your men courage again, and therewith this happy success; and therefore it is good that God alone have all the glory."†

The apology that Cromwell suggests for his severity, which assuredly in most minds would have created remorse and regret, is founded on two circumstances, neither of which can be admitted in his justification. He asserts that the barbarous

* Letters from Ireland, &c., printed by John Field, printer to the parliament of England, 1649.

† The same letter already quoted. It is dated Dublin, September 17, 1649, and addressed to the Speaker, Lenthal.

wretches whom he put to the sword had imbrued their hands in much innocent blood—alluding, we may presume, to the massacre which disgraced the insurrection of 1641. But the defenders of Drogheda were not Irish. Ludlow, on the contrary, assures us that when Oliver arrived at Dublin, the royalists "put most of their army into their garrisons—having placed three or four thousand of the best of their men, being *mostly English*, in the town of Tredagh, and made Sir Arthur Ashton governor thereof."* The same author mentions, that when the place was taken, "the slaughter continued all that day and the next; which extraordinary severity, I presume, was used to discourage others from making opposition." This, there is no doubt, was the real motive; and it is implied in the expression employed by Cromwell in his letter to the Speaker, where he says that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future. In short, his object was to set such an example of military execution as would terrify other garrisons from resistance—a policy of the most barbarous nature, and which cannot be defended upon any principle of humanity or of international law.

But the cruelty with which Cromwell is justly chargeable has been aggravated by the assertion that quarter was actually granted before the walls of Drogheda were entered, and that the subsequent massacre took place in violation of a sacred promise. Dr. Lingard relates, that "in the heat of the conflict, it chanced that the royalist officer who defended one of the trenches fell; his men wavered, quarter was offered and accepted; and the enemy, surmounting the breastwork, obtained possession of the bridge, entered the town, and successively overcame all opposition. The pledge which had been given was now violated; and as soon as resist-

* Vol. i. p. 301.

ance ceased, a general massacre was ordered or tolerated by Cromwell. During five days the streets of Drogheda ran with blood; revenge and fanaticism stimulated the passions of the soldiers: from the garrison they turned their swords against the inhabitants, and one thousand unresisting victims were immolated together within the walls of the great church, whither they had fled for protection."*

Justice requires that this charge should not be hastily admitted. It does not appear that Cromwell promised quarter to the unfortunate garrison of Drogheda beyond what is usually implied in the terms of a surrender. "I sent," says he, "Sir Arthur Ashton, the then governor, a summons to deliver up the town to the use of the parliament of England, to the which I received no satisfactory answer, but proceeded that day to beat down the steeple of the church." Nor is the authority to which Dr. Lingard refers altogether decisive of the point at issue. It may be true, as Lord Ormond asserts, that Cromwell's officers and soldiers promised quarter to such as would lay down their arms, and performed it as long as any place held out, which encouraged others to yield; and that when they had all in their power, and feared no hurt that could be done them, then the word *no quarter* went round, and the soldiers were many of them forced against their wills to kill their prisoners.† It may even be true that in some one trench where a royalist officer fell, and the men wavered, quarter was offered and accepted; and that the republicans, upon receiving the order issued by their general to spare no one who carried arms, may have actually butchered their countrymen in cold blood. There is, in short, nothing too bad to be believed of troops who acted under the fanatical impulse, and were inflamed by

* History of England, vol. xi. p. 37.
† Carte, Letters, vol. xi. p. 412.

the theological hatred, which pervaded the greater number of the parliamentary regiments. But still there is no evidence on record that Cromwell, in order to induce Sir Arthur Ashton to yield, promised quarter to the garrison of Drogheda, and afterward, in violation of his engagement, put both officers and men to the sword.*

From the town just named the English commander advanced to Wexford, which, in like manner, soon submitted to his arms, and in like manner experienced the severity of his resentment. Hardly had he opened his batteries against the fortifications, when the inhabitants proposed to capitulate; but before the terms could be arranged, the assailants found an entrance within the walls, and immediately renewed the massacre which had disgraced their success at Tredagh. No distinction was made between the armed soldier and the defenceless townsman. Even females were put to the edge of the sword. Three hundred of the latter flocked round the great cross which stood in the street, hoping that Christian soldiers would be so far softened by the sight of that emblem of mercy as to spare the lives of unresisting women; but the victors, enraged at such superstition, and regarding it perhaps as a proof that they were Roman Catholics, and therefore fit objects of military fury, rushed forward and put them all to death.

It is evident, from Cromwell's letter to his con-

* *A List of the Defendants in Drogheda.*

The Lord of Ormond's regiment, Sir Edmund Varney, lieutenant-colonel	400
Colonel Bourne's	400
Colonel Warren's	900
Colonel Wall's	800
The Lord of Westmeath's	200
Sir James Dillon's	200
Horse	200
	3100

It is said that only one individual of the garrison escaped to carry to the nearest station the dreadful tidings of their fate.

stituents at Westminster, that an abominable treachery was practised by one of the commissioners sent out by the Governor of Wexford to adjust the terms of capitulation. He relates that two field officers, with an alderman and the captain of the castle, brought out the propositions, and that, while he was preparing his answer and studying to preserve the town from plunder "the captain, being fairly treated, yielded up the castle to us; upon the top of which our men no sooner appeared, but the enemy quitted the walls of the town, which our men perceiving, ran violently upon the town with the ladders, and stormed it." The advantage, too, thus taken of the governor, has very much the appearance of fraud on the part of Cromwell; for it is manifest that it was while the treaty was under consideration that he assault was made by his soldiers on the defences of the town. There was, indeed, no positive cessation of arms; and hence, in a military point of view, arises the justification of the lord-lieutenant in availing himself of the baseness practised by the captain whom he had "fairly treated." But it is not so easy to find an excuse for the insincerity of his wailings over the demolition of a place against which he had let loose his infuriated republicans. He admits that about two thousand of the enemy fell under the sword; and contrasting this miserable issue with the better intentions which he professes to have entertained towards the people of Wexford, he discovers that the Almighty had resolved to defeat his kind wishes in favour of these royalists, and to bring them to a condign punishment. "God would not have it so, but by an unexpected providence, in his righteous justice, brought a just judgment upon them, causing them to become a prey to the soldier."—"Thus it hath pleased God to give into your hands this other mercy—for which, as for all, we pray God may have all the glory. Indeed, your instruments are poor and weak, and can do

nothing but through believing, and that is the gift of God also."

Reeking with the gore of Drogheda and Wexford, he removes his camp to Ross, to which he prepares to lay siege on the 17th of October. On this occasion he sends to the governor, Lucas Taaf, the following summons:—"Sir, since my coming into Ireland, I have this witness for myselfe that I have endeavoured to avoid effusion of blood, having been before no place to which such terms have not been first sent, as might have turned to the good and preservation of those to whom they were offered. This being my principle, that the people and place where I come may not suffer, except through their own wilfulness. To the end I may observe the like course with this place and the people therein, I do hereby summon you to deliver the town of Ross into my hands, to the use of the parliament of England."

With such fearful examples before his eyes as had lately been provided for his admonition, the governor did not hesitate long as to his final measures. He consented to give up the town on condition of being permitted to march out with the honours of war, and to assure the inhabitants that their private property would be respected. An attempt was made to secure the free exercise of religion, on the usual plea of liberty of conscience. Cromwell replied, "I meddle not with any man's conscience; but if by liberty of conscience you mean a liberty to exercise the mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing, and to let you know, where the parliament of England have power, that will not be allowed of." This is a distinction on which Cromwell was wont to found more comprehensive measures, in regard to ecclesiastical claims, than that which denied toleration to the citizens of Ross. Liberty of conscience in his vocabulary meant full freedom to think, but did not embrace a corresponding latitude

in practice The phrase admitted the most unrestrained indulgence as to the right of forming opinions, but conceded not the slightest connivance in regard to modes of worship, or forms of church government, different from those which he himself approved. It was, in short, the liberty of internal belief—a freedom which applied exclusively to the mind, over which, indeed, the most jealous tyrants have no control; while it granted no facility for the exercise of those external usages in which practical religion is found to consist, and without which the merely mental franchise is at once mockery and insult.

The most formidable enemies which Oliver had to encounter after the reduction of Ross were stormy weather and a train of diseases incident to a moist climate and an uncultivated soil. He met, indeed, with some resistance at Duncannon and Waterford; but Estionage, Carrick, and Passage Fort surrendered almost at the first summons. In a letter to Lenthal, received on the 12th of December, he boasts that "by the good hand of the Lord your interest in Munster is near as good already as ever it was since this war began. Sir, what can be said to these things? Is it an arm of flesh that doeth these things? Is it the wisdom and council or strength of man? It is the Lord only: God will curse that man and his house who dares to think otherwise. Sir, you see the work is done by Divine leading: God gets into the hearts of men and persuades them to come under you. I tell you, a considerable part of your army is fitter for an hospital than the field. If the enemy did not know it, I should have held it impolitique to have writ it: they know it, yet they know not what to do. I humbly beg leave to offer a word or two. I beg of those that are faithful, that they, in the government, in greatest trust, may all in heart draw near unto God, giving him glory by holiness of life and conversa

tion; that these unspeakable mercies may teach dissenting brethren on all sides to agree in heart in praising God. And if the Father of the family be so kind, why should there be such jarring and heart-burning among the children? And if it will not yet be received that these are seals of God's approbation of your great change of government, which, indeed, was no more yours than these victories and successes are ours: with us say, even the most unsatisfied heart, that both are the righteous judgments and mighty works of God; that he hath pulled down the mighty from his seat, that calls to accompt innocent blood; that he thus breaks the enemies of his church in pieces; and let them not be sullen, but praise the Lord; and think of us as they please, and we shall be satisfied, and pray for them, and wait upon our God; and we hope we shall seek the power and welfare of our native country; and the Lord give them hearts to do so too. Indeed, I was constrained in my bowels to write thus much."

An amusing contrast is exhibited by comparing the letters which Cromwell wrote from Ireland to the parliament, with those which he sent, in the course of his official duty, to the governors of such forts as he summoned to surrender, or even with those despatches which he forwarded to the various officers under his command. It is not easy to penetrate into the motives which should have induced him to use language so little in accordance with his feelings, and with his actual views of human life; while the absurdity and fanaticism of his expostulations, taken into view at the same moment with the sagacity of his conduct, both as a warrior and a statesman, constitute one of the most difficult problems that history has anywhere presented.

The campaign of 1649 closed in a manner very gratifying to the lord-lieutenant and his confederates at Westminster. Lord Broghil, whom, by the means already described, he had gained over to the

cause of the parliament, proved a most useful auxiliary in the progress of the war. He induced the garrisons of Cork, Youghall, Bandon Bridge, and Kinsale to declare for the invaders, and even to throw open their gates to the conquerors of Drogheda and Wexford. Having in this way obtained good accommodation and supplies for his men, Cromwell retired into winter-quarters; where, from about the middle of December till the end of January, 1650, he allowed his exhausted troops to recover a little health and strength, and made arrangements for the complete subjugation of Ireland in the ensuing spring.

It would appear, that during this recess the parliament and council of state were desirous of a personal conference with Cromwell, and had even desired him to leave the army and repair to London. A letter for this purpose, signed by the Speaker, and dated the 8th of January, did not reach the camp till the 22d of March, the day on which he began the siege of Kilkenny. "I have received," says he, in a communication to Lenthal, "various private intimations of your pleasure to have me come in person to wait upon you in England, as also copies of the votes of the parliament to that purpose; but considering, from the way they came, they were but private intimations, and that the votes did refer to a letter to be signed by the Speaker, I thought it would have been too much forwardness in me to have left my charge here until the said letter came, it not being fit for me to prophesy whether the letter would be an absolute command, or having limitations, with a liberty left by the parliament to me, to consider in what way to yield my obedience."

In truth, this able general knew too well the danger of delay in a civil war, to interrupt the progress of conquest by mixing in the deliberations of a body whom he hoped soon to be able to command. On the 29th of January, he was again in the field,

at the head of twenty thousand men, well disciplined and appointed. The first exploit he records was against Goran, or Newborough, a populous town, where the enemy had a very strong castle, under the command of Colonel Hammond, a Kentish man, who had formerly served under the Lord Capel. Cromwell relates that he sent him a very civil invitation to deliver up the castle into his hands; to which the other returned a "very resolute answer, and full of height." Before the assault was made, the garrison beat a parley for a treaty, which the general refused, offering no other terms than that the lives of the soldiers should be saved, but that the officers must surrender at discretion. These conditions were accepted; the result of which must be given in Oliver's own words: "Next day the colonel, the major, and the rest of the commission officers were shot to death, all but one, who, being a very earnest instrument to have the castle delivered, was pardoned. In the same castle, also, we took a popish priest, who was chaplain to the Catholics in this regiment, who was caused to be hanged. I trouble you with this, the rather that this regiment was the Lord of Ormond's own regiment."

It is not unworthy of notice, that in the reduction of this town, as well as of Wexford, the hand of treachery co-operated with the arms of war. In the latter case, the captain of the castle, who had been "very fairly treated," and in the other, the officer, who was a "very earnest instrument to have the castle delivered," were, without doubt, purchased by the English general, who was no stranger to any of the various modes of access by which the human heart may be approached. One of his letters, indeed, affords an indication that he had certain uses for treasure besides the maintaining of his horse and foot. "This makes us bold to be earnest with you for necessary supplies; that of money

is one; and there be some other things, which indeed I do not think for your service to speak of publicly, which I shall humbly represent to the council of state, wherewith I desire we may be accommodated. Sir, the Lord, who doeth all these things, gives hopes of a speedy issue to this businesse, and, I am persuaded, will graciously appear in it: and truly there is no fear of the strength and combination of enemies round about nor of slanderous tongues at home. God hath hitherto fenced you against all these, to wonder and amazement; they are tokens of your prosperity and success; only it will be good for you, and us that serve you, to fear the Lord, to fear unbelief, self-seeking, confidence in an arm of flesh, and opinion of any instruments that they are other than as dry bones."

Upon the renewal of hostilities in the early months of 1650, Cromwell found the royalists so much depressed by defeat and desertion, that his army passed over a great part of Ireland, as if through an unresisting medium. Kilkenny, it is true, made a gallant resistance, and occasioned to the assailants a considerable loss. The troops employed to storm it were beaten back from the breach, not without some imputation on their courage; and it was not until a second battery was erected, and a portion of the town destroyed by fire, that the governor would listen to terms. Clonmell distinguished itself by a similar resistance; and, by adding prudence to valour, disappointed the enemy of a triumph. The following letter describes the progress of the siege, and its issue, in a very satisfactory manner. It is dated from that town on the 10th May, 1650.

"Yesterday we stormed Clonmell, in which both officers and soldiers did as much and more than could be expected. We had with our guns made a breach in their works, where, after a hot fight, we

gave back a while, but presently charged up to the same ground again. But the enemy had made themselves exceeding strong, by double works and traverse, which were worse to enter than the breach; when we came up to it, they had cross-works, and were strongly flanked from the houses within their works. The enemy defended themselves against us that day until towards the evening, our men all the while keeping up close to the breach, and many on both sides were slain. At night the enemy drew out on the other side, and marched away undiscovered to us, and the inhabitants of Clonmell sent out for a parley, upon which articles were agreed on, before we knew the enemy was gone. After signing of the conditions, we discovered the enemy to be gone, and very early this morning pursued them, and fell upon their rear of stragglers, and killed above two hundred. We entered Clonmell this morning, and have kept our conditions with them."

Cromwell was making preparations for the reduction of Waterford, when news arrived that the Scots were about to take arms in the cause of Charles the Second, whom, immediately after the death of his father, they had proclaimed king. He therefore committed the care of prosecuting the war in Ireland to his son-in-law, the major-general, who assumed his new office under the title of lord deputy. Oliver thought himself fully authorized to make this arrangement, as the whole civil and military power of that country had been conferred upon him for three years, by a formal vote of the parliament; and in virtue of the same commission, he soon afterward nominated Ludlow lieutenant-general of the horse, to serve under Ireton as commander-in-chief. Having made such other arrangements as the time would permit, he embarked for England, where he was received with loud acclamations, by all the friends of the commonwealth.

But the fame which he left in the kingdom he had just conquered did not reflect upon his achievements the same degree of praise which he received from his more partial countrymen. On the contrary, the cruelties of which he was guilty in that unhappy land sank so deeply into the hearts of the sensitive people who endured them, that the lapse of a hundred and eighty years has not worn out the impression of horror and detestation with which his bloody career was accompanied. Various attempts have been made to discover or to create an apology for his ferocious conduct. We have been reminded that the Irish campaign was the first enterprise of the new commonwealth, and that it was of the highest importance to the stability of its government, and to the weight and respectability it should possess among foreign states, that the war should be conducted with skill and success. We are told, at the same time, that the inhabitants were bigoted, ignorant, and bloodthirsty Roman Catholics; a race unbroken and savage, who had scarcely in any instance been brought resolutely to encounter an enemy in the field; and hence Cromwell might imagine that, by the terror of his name, he should not only extinguish all their hopes of resistance, but even finish the war at one blow. But this, it is added, could only be effected by convincing the rabble of Catholic military that he was not to be trifled with; or, in other words, by exhibiting some examples of an appalling severity. He may have believed that, in such a case, a certain degree of cruelty was real humanity in disguise. In short, it is assumed, that his purpose was, in the course of a few months, to lay all Ireland at the feet of the parliament; and then it is asked, "How much would the evils attending a few instances of early severity be compensated by the cutting off long years of obstinate resistance?"—"In fine, it must be admitted," says the advocate to whom I

allude, "that Cromwell, however urbane and benevolent might be his general disposition, showed that he was capable of stringing himself to, and going through with, acts of cruelty and horror."*

But no reasons, founded on mere expediency, can ever justify the violation of those original sentiments of human nature upon which the laws of morality and religion have their chief dependence. Besides, excessive severity in a conqueror usually defeats the ends for which it is adopted; because, as the governor of every fortress could not be expected to surrender at the first summons, and as resistance in every case incurred the punishment of military execution, the garrisons would not only hold out to the last extremity, but even then rather lose their lives in the defence of their walls, or in fighting at the corner of every street, than lay down their arms, to be butchered in cold blood. The policy adopted by Cromwell succeeded, indeed, for a time: but it would soon have produced a reaction, by giving to despair the attribute of courage. The horrors of Drogheda and Wexford did not open the gates of Kilkenny, Ross, Waterford, and Clonmell; and if the Irish could have trusted one another, and resisted the solicitation of English gold, the camp of the invader would have been converted into an hospital before his flag could have appeared on so many of the citadels of Munster.

Another motive for the severities of the lord-lieutenant, in the memorable campaign now described, arose from the sickly state of his army, which was melting away by agues and fluxes, and from his own impatience to "get out of the trade of war," and to take a share in the government at Westminster. His health, too, had been impaired by the fatigue and bad weather to which he was constantly exposed; and when he sat down before a

* Godwin's Commonwealth, vol. iii. p. 151.

town, he did not conceal that the comfort of a house, compared with the privations of a tent, stimulated his exertions, and made him refuse all cessation of arms. But much may also be attributed to that indifference for the rights and sufferings of Irishmen which had become habitual to the people of England. The historian Cambrensis, who accompanied to the Green Isle the original adventurers, in the reign of Henry the Second, recommended, as a maxim for their proceedings in the new settlement, "that the only way to civilize the Irish was to exterminate them, and seize their estates." This inhuman principle had been acted upon to a considerable extent, even when the natives had no other disqualification except that of being the savage and ignorant possessors of land which their invaders were desirous to appropriate; but after the Reformation was established in Britain, the cupidity of the Protestants was inflamed by religious zeal; and then it appeared meritorious to expel from the land of their fathers the bigoted adherents of a church which they themselves had hardly relinquished. Henceforward the Irish were stigmatized as Catholics, as well as rebels,—a sufficient ground for any deeds of violence and oppression which might be exercised towards them; while their country, as Lord Clarendon remarks, was the "great capital out of which all debts were paid, all services rewarded, and all acts of bounty performed." In fact, so strong was the belief in both islands that the English at this time meant to follow literally the advice given by Cambrensis, that in the preamble to the act for settling Ireland, the legislature thought it necessary to express their views in such a way that the Irish people "might know that it is not the intention of parliament to extirpate that whole nation."

It is a painful exercise of reflection to estimate the amount of suffering which must have been in-

flicted upon Ireland by the victories of Cromwell. Besides those who fell in the towns which were subjected to military fury, great numbers were shipped off to the plantations abroad; and not fewer than forty-five thousand men enlisted in the armies of France and Spain, and thereby became voluntary exiles from the country of their birth, where they were no longer permitted to enjoy either liberty or food, those common gifts bestowed by nature upon all her children.

CHAPTER II.

Containing an Account of the Events which took place in Scotland, from the Proclamation of Charles the Second, till the Battle of Worcester.

The people of Scotland, notwithstanding the firmness with which they had opposed the government of the late king, were all along friendly to monarchical rule, and even to the hereditary rights of the House of Stuart. It happened, accordingly, that when intelligence reached Edinburgh of the fate of the first Charles, a deputation of the native parliament proceeded to the market-cross of that city and proclaimed his son King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland; adding, as one of the terms of his accession to the throne, that he should give full satisfaction to the Lords and Commons of his firm attachment to the National Covenant, as well as to the Solemn League and Covenant between the two kingdoms. The prince, however much he might be gratified by this decided step in his favour, was, at the same time, so greatly perplexed by the conditions on which alone he could assume the exercise of royal power, that he refused at first to come

under an obligation which must necessarily oppose his duty to the interests of a large proportion of his subjects. He therefore turned his thoughts towards Ireland, where the people were less disposed to circumscribe the prerogative, and of which the greater part had already submitted to the arms of Ormond, a faithful and devoted servant of the crown.

But the rapid successes of Cromwell, and the failure of the Marquis of Montrose in his attempt to erect the royal standard in Scotland in defiance of the Covenant, induced Charles to accept the conditions held out to him by the commissioners of the northern kingdom. In an address recently presented to him by the kirk, he had indeed been reminded of the sins of his youth, and of his refusal to allow the Son of God to reign in the pure ordinances of church government and worship. He was blamed, too, for cleaving to counsellors who never had the glory of God or the good of his people before their eyes; for admitting to his presence that "fugacious man and excommunicate rebel, James Graham;" and, above all, for his giving the royal strength and power to the Beast, by concluding a peace with the Irish papists, the murderers of so many Protestants He was desired to remember the iniquities of his father's house, and to be assured, that unless he laid aside the service-book so stuffed with Romish corruptions, and encouraged the reformation of doc trine and worship agreed upon by the divines at Westminster, and, finally, approved of the Covenant in his three kingdoms, without which the people could have no security for their religion or liberty, he would find that the Lord's anger was not turned away, but that his hand was still stretched out against the royal person and family.

It is not probable that Charles expected a hearty reception from a people who thus mingled insult with their professions of loyalty. But recent events

no longer left him any choice; on which account in the month of June, 1650, he embarked in a smal squadron supplied by the Prince of Orange, and shaped his course for the shores of Scotland. The attachment of the natives to their ancient line of kings burst forth in loud acclamations when he arrived on the coast; and even the Committee of Estates yielded so far to this generous impulse as to receive him with the honours due to his rank, and to provide a revenue of 100,000*l.* per annum, for the maintenance of his household. They soon afterward, indeed, proceeded to purge his establishment, by removing from his court nearly all his personal friends; against whom, chiefly for their principles as royalists, and for their aversion to the Covenant, they entertained the warmest resentment

The reception of Charles the Second, in quality of King of England and Ireland as well as of Scotland, was equivalent to a declaration of war against the new commonwealth. Regarding it in this light, the parliament, as we have already mentioned, instructed Cromwell to leave his government in the hands of Ireton, and to repair to London, in order that arrangements might be made for defeating the designs of the Presbyterians in both divisions of the island. Upon his arrival in town, the palace of St. James's was appointed for his residence; large grants of land were voted by the House to their victorious general; and a renewed expression was made of their entire confidence in his ability and faithfulness. Fairfax, it is well known, was still at the head of the army; but, owing to the religious principles which prevailed in his domestic circle, as also, perhaps, on account of his dissatisfaction with the violent measures into which the parliament had been hurried by the enemies of the king, he was no longer regarded by the council of state as a fit instrument for prosecuting their ulterior objects. In a war against the Presbyterians of England and

Scotland, no dependence could be placed upon a commander-in-chief whose bosom friends and spiritual guides were of that persuasion. Hence the expediency of intrusting their cause to the Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, whose hatred of the Covenant was not less inveterate than his hostility to the royalists.

But it is reasonable to conclude that nothing more was meant, in the first instance at least, than to employ Cromwell as the lieutenant of Lord Fairfax, and thereby to direct the movements of the army to the accomplishment of their avowed designs against the church and king, now patronised by the Scots. The prejudices of his lordship, however, did more for the furtherance of their views than could have been effected by the best concerted stratagem. A conference was held on this interesting subject, the details of which I shall give in the words of Ludlow, whose duty, as one of the members of the council of state, led him to take a share in it. "Concluding it highly necessary to make some preparations against the storm which threatened us from the north, and knowing that the satisfaction of their general was of great importance to that service, the council desired the Lord Fairfax to declare his resolution concerning the same: who, after a day or two's consideration, at the instance chiefly, it was thought, of his wife, upon whom the Presbyterian clergy had no small influence, seemed unwilling to march into Scotland; but declared that, in case the Scots should attempt to invade England, he would be ready to lay down his life to oppose them. We laboured to persuade him of the reasonableness and justice of our resolution to march into Scotland, they having already declared themselves our enemies, and by public protestation bound themselves to impose that government upon us, which we had found it necessary to abolish; and to that end had made their terms with

Prince Charles, waiting only an opportunity, as soon as they had strengthened themselves by foreign assistance which they expected, to put their design in execution, after we should be reduced to great difficulties incident to the keeping up of an army, in expectation of being invaded by them; assuring him that we thought ourselves indispensably obliged in duty to our country—and as we tender the peace and prosperity of it, as well as to prevent the effusion of the blood of those who had been, and we hoped upon better information would be, our friends—to march into Scotland, and either to understand from them that they are our friends, or to endeavour to make them so; choosing rather to make that country the seat of war than our own. But the Lord Fairfax was unwilling to alter his resolution in consideration of any thing that could be said. Upon this Lieutenant-general Cromwell proposed, that notwithstanding the unwillingness of the Lord Fairfax to command upon this occasion, they should yet continue him to be general of the army; and professing for himself that he would rather choose to serve under him in his post than to command the greatest army in Europe. But the council of state not approving that advice, appointed a committee of some of themselves, to confer further with the general, in order to his satisfaction. This committee was appointed upon the motion of the lieutenant-general, who acted his part so to the life, that I really thought him in earnest; which obliged me to step to him as he was withdrawing with the rest of the committee out of the council-chamber, and to desire him that he would not in compliment and humility obstruct the public service of the nation by his refusal; but the consequence made it sufficiently evident that he had no such intention.

"The committee, having spent some time in debate with the Lord Fairfax without any success,

returned to the council of state, whereupon they ordered the report of this affair to be made to the parliament. Which being done, and some of the general's friends informing them that, though he had showed some unwillingness to be employed in this expedition himself, yet being more unwilling to hinder the undertaking of it by another, he had sent his secretary, who attended at the door, to surrender his commission, if they thought fit to receive it. The secretary was called in and delivered the commission, which the parliament having received, they proceeded to settle an annual revenue of five thousand pounds upon the Lord Fairfax, in consideration of his former services; and then voted Lieutenant-general Cromwell to be captain-general of all their land-forces, ordering a commission forthwith to be drawn up to that effect, and referred to the council of state to hasten the preparations for the northern expedition."*

Those writers who endeavour to explain the actions of Cromwell on the supposition that he always used indirect means to accomplish his objects, give him credit for a piece of able diplomacy at the interview which has just been described. Ludlow, it is manifest, doubted the sincerity of the lieutenant-general, and Whitelocke, we find, entertained a similar opinion; but it is more than probable that both of these annalists reasoned from facts which were afterward brought to light, and rested their judgment on subsequent results, rather than on the fair presumptions of the case at the passing moment. Mrs. Hutchinson, who looked not so deeply for the causes of the events which fell under her observation, but imbodied into her narrative the occurrences of the day, together with the impressions concerning them which were made on the public mind, assures her readers that Cromwell did not undermine Fairfax, nor wish him to resign

* Memoirs, vol. i. p. 315.

his commission as commander-in-chief of the parliamentary forces. She ascribes this resolution, on the part of his lordship, entirely to the religious prejudices of his wife, who, urged by her chaplains, dissuaded him from bearing arms against the Presbyterian interests.

The friends of liberty, who already suspected the designs of Oliver, had exerted all their influence with Fairfax in private, with the view of inducing him to retain his high office, and thereby to prevent a dangerous instrument from falling into the hands of his lieutenant, who would most probably use it for the destruction of public freedom. But the general remained quite immoveable. At the conference, too, he exhibited the same invincible obstinacy, although the arguments which Cromwell employed were sufficient to overcome any degree of reluctance which had no other foundation than an erroneous perception of duty. He reminded his lordship that the Scots had invaded England since the recognition of the Solemn League and Covenant, and in direct contravention of its letter as well as of its spirit—that they were now meditating another inroad, under the banners of Charles Stuart, whom, without the consent of the commonwealth, they had proclaimed sovereign of the three kingdoms—and, therefore, as war was inevitable, it were better, he maintained, to make choice of the enemy's country for the scene of the approaching conflict, than to permit a hostile army to penetrate into the heart of the nation, already wasted by the ravages of their own civil dissensions.

The reader who rigidly confines his judgment to the facts supplied by contemporary writers, and rejects the inferences which have been drawn by those who give undue weight to hypothetical views of character, will be disposed to conclude that Cromwell was sincere. It is uncandid to assert that he did not use the arguments just stated, until he was

sure that they would produce no effect; more especially as such an opinion is opposed by the unquestionable fact, that, at a meeting of the council of state, he urged upon his colleagues not to hold the unwillingness of Fairfax to march into Scotland as a sufficient reason for accepting his resignation; declaring his readiness to serve under him, and that, too, with a greater feeling of pride than he would command the greatest army in Europe. Still it must be admitted that, if Cromwell's ambition at the crisis to which affairs had arrived required the retirement of Fairfax, he acted wisely by resolving to attend the conference in person; because his absence would perhaps have encouraged others to press upon his lordship such reasons for continuing in power, drawn from the aspiring character of his lieutenant, as might have determined him to comply with their wishes, and even to place additional obstacles in the way of the other's advancement.

But, as has been already mentioned, Fairfax persisted in his resolution to retire; and, by that step, he at once placed the power of England in the hands of Cromwell, and deprived himself of all means of adding to his military renown. "He then died to all his former glory, and became the monument of his own name, which every day wore out."*

* Hutchinson's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 172. It is deserving of notice, that the reasons assigned by Fairfax himself do not quadrate with the motives assigned by Mrs. Hutchinson. "All the power being got into the army, they cut up the root of kingly government; after this were engagements made to abolish that title. Then was war declared against Scotland for assisting the king, and several leagues made with foreign princes to confederate with their new government, which was now a commonwealth, against the kingly power. All this I saw with grief and sorrow; and though I had as much love of the army as ever, and was with great importunity solicited by that remaining parliament and soldiers to continue my command; and though I might, so long as I acted their designs, have attained to what height of power and other advantages I pleased; yet by the mercies and goodness of God, I did, so long as I continued in the army, oppose all those ways in their councils; and when I could do no more, I then declined their actions, though I did not resign my commission, which I had from the parliament, till the remaining part of it took it from me" —Short Memorials; Somers's Tracts, vol v. p. 396.

At this period Cromwell appears to have laid his mind open to some of those bewildering impressions which are so apt to seize the imagination of a man who has risen suddenly to the possession of supreme power. He felt that he had been selected by Providence for the accomplishment of great purposes, and began to apply to himself, as an instrument of the Divine will, certain passages of Holy Scripture, which shadowed forth the triumphs and felicities of the Messiah's kingdom. This fanaticism is by no means unnatural; nor does the ardent spirit of Cromwell afford the only example of its influence in the high walks of human life. The religious temperament of the age in which he lived taught him, indeed, to ascribe his elevation to the special views of a particular providence, while other heroes have used a less intelligible language in reference to a certain fate or destiny which they were sent into the world to fulfill; but the feeling, in its origin and principle, is essentially the same in a puritan and in a philosophist; arising in both cases from a long train of success, as well as from the consciousness of gigantic plans which borrow the sanction of inspiration, and of boundless schemes of improvement which seem worthy of a celestial origin.

It is to Ludlow that we are indebted for an illustration of the fact now stated. Soon after Cromwell was appointed captain-general of the national forces he happened to sit near the other in the House of Commons; when observing, as he imagined, a certain alteration in the looks and carriage of the republican colonel, he expressed his apprehension that he had begun to entertain suspicions of his integrity as a servant of the public. Ludlow made a civil reply assuring him that his opinions had undergone no change. Oliver invited him to a private conference in the queen's guard-chamber; on which occasion he endeavoured to convince his friend of the necessity now incumbent upon him to do many things that

appeared extraordinary in the judgment of some men, who, in opposition to him, took such courses as would bring ruin upon themselves, as well as upon him and the public cause; affirming his intentions still to be directed to the good of the people, for whose welfare he was ready to sacrifice his life. He declared that his desires were limited to the settlement of the nation in a free and equal commonwealth; acknowledging that there were no other probable means to keep out the old family and government from returning upon them. Above all, he stated his conviction, that it was the design of the Lord in their days to deliver his people from every burden, and that he was now bringing to pass what was prophesied in the hundred and tenth Psalm; from the consideration of which he was often encouraged to promote the accomplishment of those ends which were indicated by the finger of Providence. Upon this, he entered upon an exposition of that Psalm, in which, says Ludlow, he spent a full hour.

The military memorialist does not favour his readers with any specimen of Cromwell's commentary; but it is not difficult to imagine what must have been his views on such passages as these: "The Lord at thy right hand shall strike through kings in the day of his wrath."—"He shall fill the places with the dead bodies; he shall wound the heads over many countries.—The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength out of his Zion; rule thou in the midst of thine enemies.—The people shall be willing in the day of thy power; thou art a priest for ever." Having finished his exposition, he assured Ludlow that he intended to make a thorough reformation of the clergy and of the law; but added, "the sons of Zeruiah are still too strong for us."*

It was on the occasion now mentioned, that Crom-

* Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 319.

well induced his auditor to accept the appointment of lieutenant-general in Ireland; being desirous, it is probable, to have him removed to a distance from the centre of affairs during the approaching expedition to the north, when the more violent republicans, of whom Ludlow was one, might take advantage of any reverses that should befall him, and place the power of the state in other hands. The successor of Fairfax, indeed, already perceived that he had more to dread from his former friends than from his avowed enemies; and, under this impression, he determined to render the army still more subservient to his ulterior plans, and to separate the interests of the soldiers from those of the commanders under whom they had been originally brought into the field. With this view, he dismissed many of the old officers who belonged to what was called the "Godly Party," and gave their places to men who considered the pursuit of arms merely as a profession, without taking much pains to weigh the equity of the cause in which they were engaged, or allowing themselves to challenge the propriety of the orders which they were summoned to obey. "Now," says a popular writer, "the poison of ambition had so ulcerated Cromwell's heart, that the effects became more apparent than before; and while as yet Fairfax stood an empty name, he was moulding the army to his mind; weeding out the godly and upright-hearted men, and filling up their rooms with rascally turn-coat cavaliers and pitiful sottish beasts of his own alliance, and other such as would swallow all things, and make no question for conscience sake. Yet this he did not directly nor in tumult, but by such degrees that it was unperceived by all that were not of very penetrating eyes."*

In pursuance of the same object, he distributed the men of the fanatical corps, which had served

* Hutchinson's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 167

during the civil war, into different regiments, where the same spirit of political union and religious partisanship did not prevail, and thereby completely neutralized that powerful principle by means of which he had repeatedly intimidated the parliament, and finally brought his sovereign to the block. He had no longer any occasion for agitators, and therefore he suppressed all deliberative bodies in the army. He now felt that the instrument which he had used with so much effect possessed two edges equally sharp; and therefore he not only threw it aside, but endeavoured to stamp it under his feet, and to grind it as small as powder. He dreaded the men who had formerly been the most submissive of his agents, even in the most desperate enterprises to which revenge or ambition can ever carry the human mind; for which reason, he laboured to divide their influence to such an extent as to render it inefficient, and to counteract their plans by the introduction of an antagonist power to which every day would give additional strength.

Nor did a long time elapse before it became manifest that the fears of Cromwell were not altogether without foundation. Three military enthusiasts, Rich, Staines, and Watson, conspired against his life. Being brought before the council of state, they acknowledged their guilt, and were about to be sentenced to a condign punishment, when the general interceded for them, and obtained their pardon. Having vindicated himself from their malice, and "laid open what pitiful, sneaking, poor knaves they were, how ungrateful to him, and how treacherous and cowardly to themselves, he became their advocate, and made it his suit that they might be no farther published or punished." This generosity, "for indeed he carried himself with the greatest bravery that is imaginable therein, much advanced his glory, and cleared him in the eyes of superficial beholders; but others saw he crept on and could

not stop him, while Fortune itself seemed to prepare his way on sundry occasions."

The last sentence is very remarkable, as written by a contemporary. The progress of Cromwell was perceived, but it could not be checked. Fortune ministered to him the most apt occasions, which he was always ready to seize, and turn to the greatest advantage for his personal views; and all this while he carried the most open face, and made to those about him the most obliging professions of friendship. But Mrs. Hutchinson assures us that her husband "saw through him, and forbore not often to tell him what was suspected of his ambition, what dissimulations of his were remarked, and how dishonourable to the name of God and the profession of religion, how destructive to the most glorious of earthly causes, and dangerous to all their triumphs, these things would prove, if unfortunately they should be found to be true. He would seem to receive these cautions and admonitions as the greatest demonstrations of integrity and friendship that could be made, embrace the colonel in his arms, make serious lying professions to him, and after enquire men's opinions concerning him; which the colonel never forbore to tell him plainly, although he knew that he received it not with the complacency which he endeavoured to assume."*

Meanwhile preparations were going forward on both sides of the Tweed for the campaign which was about to open on the Scottish border. Cromwell departed from the capital about the beginning of July, having made ready his way by a declaration addressed "To all that are saints and partakers of the faith of God's elect in Scotland." The enemy made a similar appeal to the public, and sent, at the same time, a list of questions to the English general, respecting the grounds of his meditated invasion, in utter contempt of the covenant subsisting

* Hutchinson's Memoirs, vol ii. p. 169

between the two kingdoms. For this reason, on his arrival at Berwick, he thought it necessary to repeat his manifesto, vindicating his motives and the character of his troops against the aspersions of the Presbyterians, assuring all classes of the people that he would not offer the least violence to their persons or possessions, and inviting them to remain in their houses, where they should be permitted to enjoy their goods in peace.*

The latter proclamation was likewise meant to counteract the effects of certain rumours relative to the bloody and vindictive temper of Cromwell, which, it must be acknowledged, derived some degree of probability from his recent conduct in Ireland. It had been said that he meant to put to death every man between sixteen and sixty years of age; to cut off the right hands of the youths under the period of life just specified; to burn the women's breasts with hot irons, and to destroy all cattle and moveable property. Hence the English officers relate, that when they had crossed the borders, they saw not in the places through which they passed any men capable of bearing arms; but the streets of the small towns were full of women, "pitiful, sorry creatures, clothed in white flannel, in a very homely manner Very many of them much bemoaned their husbands, who, they said, were enforced by the lairds to gang to the muster. All the men in Dunbar, as in other places of this day's march, were fled; and not any to be seen above seven or under seventy years old, but only some few decrepid ones."†

The Scottish leaders were not less active than their opponents; but as the country was miserably divided, neither their councils nor their military operations were conducted with any degree of unanimity. The ministers were said to be as busy in enforcing discipline and warlike exercises as they

* Note B. † Relation of the Fight at Leith

had formerly been in the labours of the gospel. Upwards of thirty accepted of commissions as majors and captains, who now held forth the Bible in the one hand, and the sword in the other; telling the soldiers that they need not fear what man could do against them; that God was on their side; and that he had prepared an engine in heaven to blast the designs of all covenant-breakers upon earth.*

On the 29th of July, a week after Cromwell crossed the Tweed, he advanced to Edinburgh, where Lesley had collected his army. He had indeed prepared for action at Gladsmuir, at which place he was informed the Scots had resolved to dispute his passage into Mid-Lothian; but meeting with no opposition, he proceeded to Musselburgh, a small town about six miles from the capital, in the neighbourhood of which he established his head-quarters. The Scottish general had posted his troops to such advantage, that Cromwell found, to use his own language, they "were not easily to be attempted;" on which account he retired to Musselburgh, to "refresh and revictual" his men. A smart skirmish took place while his army was retrograding, in which Major-general Lambert was wounded and taken prisoner. The attack was made by two bodies of Scottish horse, the one from Leith on the right, the other from the Canongate on the left. Captain Evanson, who received the charge of the latter body, was routed, as was also Cromwell's own regiment, which supported him, and they were only extricated by the gallantry of Lambert, who, as has just been stated, received several severe wounds, and was a short time in the hands of the assailants.†

* Cromwelliana, p. 83.

† Memoirs of Captain John Hodgson, p. 130. "About eleven o'clock" says the captain, "we wanted our bread and cheese, and drew off towards Musselburgh; and the van of our army marching too fast, as if we had been at a great distance from the enemy, they took courage and came swarming out like bees, horse and foot, fell upon our rear of horse, where they were sore put to it, near Lichnagarie, [Restalrig, not Lang-Niddery

On the following night a party of Scottish horse, amounting to about eight hundred, and commanded by the Major-generals Montgomery and Strachan, made an attempt on Cromwell's head-quarters at Stoney-hill, a house situated on the western bank of the Esk, in the vicinity of Musselburgh. Their guides were a gentleman named Hamilton, the proprietor of the mansion, and his servant, both of whom were killed. When the English patrol of cavalry were roused by the approach of the enemy, two of their own countrymen, who were among the assailants, went forward and called out that it was a false alarm, which gave to the Scottish lancers an opportunity to gallop in among them and do some execution. Fleetwood's horse were entirely routed; and the main body of the army owed its preservation to the vigilance and activity of Lambert's infantry, who immediately sprang to their arms. The party led by Montgomery on this occasion were called the kirk's regiment of horse; but in the eyes of the sectaries to whom they were opposed, they ill deserved that venerable appellation; for, from certain loose expressions uttered by them in the heat of the action, there could be no doubt that some reprobate cavaliers had found a place in their ranks.

Cromwell thought this attack of sufficient importance to be mentioned in a despatch to the president of the council of state. "The enemy came on with a great deal of resolution, beat in our guards, and put a regiment of horse in some disorder; but our men, speedily taking the alarm, charged the enemy routed them, took many prisoners, killed a great many of them, and did execution within a quarter of a mile of Edinburgh. Indeed, this is a sweet

as the editor of the Edinburgh impression of 1806 suggests], cut and hewed Major-general Lambert, took him prisoner, and were carrying him away towards Edinburgh; but the valiant Lieutenant Empson, one of Hacker's officers, pursued with five or six of our soldiers, and hewed him out and brought him to his own regiment, where we procured him a pacing-horse."

beginning of your businesse, or rather of the Lord's, and I believe it is not very satisfactory to the enemy, especially to the kirk party; and I trust this work, which is the Lord's, will prosper in the hands of his servants.*

On the 6th of August the English general continued his retreat towards Dunbar, having found it impossible to supply his army with provisions in a district from which all the corn and cattle had been removed by the command of the Scottish government. He soon afterward resumed his attempt on the capital; but finding that Lesley was determined to continue on the defensive, and not to risk an engagement, he directed his march towards the Pentland Hills, with the view of alarming his antagonist by a demonstration of cutting off his supplies from the west, and of interrupting his communication with Stirling. This manœuvre produced not the intended effect. The Scottish commander thought it sufficient to cover Edinburgh, and to defend the principal passes which lead to the shores of the Firth; being satisfied that want of food would compel Cromwell to retrace his steps to the neighbourhood of his fleet at Dunbar, before he himself should find it necessary to hazard a battle, in order to re-establish his magazines.

A variety of movements were made by both armies in the western division of Edinburghshire; the object of which, on the part of Cromwell, was to bring on a battle, while Lesley confined his endeavours to the protection of the city and the destruction of his enemy's resources. At one place where the small river Leith separated the camps, the English pushed on their lines with the intention of making an attack. The word given out was "Rise, Lord!" The body of foot advanced within three hundred yards, when they discovered such a bog on both

* Cromwelliana, p. 86; Memoirs of Captain John Hodgson, p 138

their wings of horse, that they could not pass over. "Thus," says Captain Hodgson, "by this very unexpected hand of Providence were we prevented, and had only liberty to play with our cannon that evening and part of the next morning, which did good execution, as we believe, upon them. We had very strange and remarkable deliverances from theirs, though they played very hard upon us, and that with much art; but the Lord suffered them not to do us much hurt; we had not slain and wounded above five-and-twenty men."*

Cromwell was present in person on this occasion. He even headed the advanced party, and approached so near to the Scottish lines that one of the enemy fired a carbine at him, with the view of checking his progress. Oliver called out to the trooper and said, "that if he were one of his soldiers, he would cashier him for discharging his piece at such a distance." The man, who had formerly served in England under Lieutenant-general Lesley, instantly recognised the leader of the Ironsides, and spread the information that the officer at whom he had aimed was no other than Cromwell himself, whom he had often seen in company with Lord Leven when the army was in Yorkshire.

The plan pursued by the Scottish general was hitherto attended with complete success. The invaders were again compelled to retreat to Musselburgh, after having been in the field nearly a month, exposed to much bad weather and many privations. On the 31st of August, their commander wrote to a member of the council of state, describing the marches and countermarches which he had made, with the view of bringing the enemy to action, or of driving him from his defences under the walls of Edinburgh. Lesley had threatened to interpose himself between Cromwell and his supplies, a de-

* Relation of Campaign, 266.

monstration which accelerated the retrograde movement of the English; but as his object all the while was to shun a general engagement, he made choice of such positions as at once rendered an attack impracticable, and harassed the enemy, whose communications he never ceased to menace. Oliver relates, that his opponent marched in the night between Leith and Edinburgh, to place himself "between us and our victual, but the Lord had in mercy prevented it; which we perceiving in the morning, got in time enough, through the goodness of the Lord, to the seaside; the enemy being drawn up on the hill near Arthur's Seat, looking upon us, but not attempting any thing."

From Musselburgh five hundred sick men were shipped for Berwick, while disease seemed to be rapidly extending throughout the army. Hodgson remarks, that they became weaker and weaker every day, and that as they were drawing homeward towards Haddington, the Scots hung on their right flank. An attempt was made at the town just named to check the advance of their pursuers; but after a consultation was held by the superior officers, it was resolved to continue the retreat to Dunbar. "We staid," says the captain, "till about ten o'clock—had been at prayer in several regiments—sent away our wagons and carriages—and not long afterward marched, *a poor*, *shattered*, *hungry*, *discouraged army*; and the Scots pursued so very close, that our rear-guard had much ado to secure our poor weak foot, that was not able to march up. We drew near Dunbar towards night, and the Scots ready to fall upon our rear."*

According to the statement given by Cromwell himself in his despatches, the pressure on his rear, between Musselburgh and Haddington, must have been very considerable. "By the time we had got

* Memoirs, p. 143.

the van-brigade of our horse and our foot and train into their quarters, the enemy was marched with that expedition, that they fell upon the rear forlorn of our horse, and put it in some disorder; and, indeed, had like to have engaged our rear-brigade of horse with their whole army, had not the Lord, by his providence, put a cloud over the moon, thereby giving us an opportunity to draw off those horse to the rest of the army, which accordingly was done without any loss."

It was on Sunday the 1st of September that the latter march was accomplished; and next morning, which was very tempestuous, they found that Lesley had intercepted their farther retreat, or at least that he had taken up such a position as must render their subsequent movements extremely perilous. "He had," says Hodgson, "blocked up our way for England; and our poor army drew up about swamps and bogs not far from Dunbar, and could not pitch a tent all that day." At nine o'clock in the evening a council of war was called, where, after debating the case at considerable length, many of the officers recommended that the foot should be shipped, and that the cavalry should force a passage through the enemy. It is said that Lambert opposed this resolution with great vehemence, and advised the council rather to try the fortune of arms once more, than to expose themselves to disgrace, and perhaps to entire destruction. He reminded them that they had enjoyed great experience of the goodness of God while they kept together, and if they parted, all might be lost. He represented, too, that there was no longer time to embark the infantry, for day would dawn before the shipment could be effected, and consequently they must sacrifice all their wagons and ammunition. He stated, in the third place, that they had great advantage in the ground which they occupied, should a battle take place; because the Scots, being confined between a ravine in front and

a mountain in the rear, could not deploy their regiments or bring them into action; and hence, if their right wing were successfully attacked, the rest of their army would necessarily be thrown into confusion. Fourthly, he argued, that as the enemy had left intervals in their line upon the brink of the hill, the English cavalry might advance in troops and the infantry in companies, without sustaining any material opposition, because Lesley's battalions could neither extend their line nor change their front, but at the hazard of throwing the whole army into disorder. Lastly, he maintained that their artillery would sufficiently occupy the attention of the left wing, while the horse and foot advanced against the right; and that if the latter were repulsed, a general rout of the enemy must inevitably ensue, and a complete victory would crown the exertions of the assailants.

These arguments, we are assured, altered the views of the military counsellors. But there is little doubt that before the officers were convened, Cromwell had resolved to attack Lesley in the morning. Observing, in the course of the afternoon, that the Scottish general had brought his main strength of horse and artillery towards his right wing, he discovered that an opportunity was thereby afforded for bringing him to action. "We could not well imagine but that the enemy intended to attempt upon us, or to place themselves in a more exact condition of interposition. Major-general Lambert and myself coming to the Earl of Roxburgh's house, and observing this posture, I told him I thought it did give us an opportunity and advantage to attempt upon the enemy; to which he immediately replied, that he had thought to have said the same thing to me: so that it pleased the Lord to set this apprehension upon our hearts at the same moment. We called for Colonel Monk, and showed him the thing; and coming to our quarters at night, and demonstrating

our apprehensions to some of the colonels, they also cheerfully concurred."

The ravine, or clough, as Captain Hodgson calls it, was formed by the deep banks of a stream which falls into the sea at Broxmouth-park. At one point it was passable both for horse and infantry, and Cromwell, to prevent a surprise, had occupied that position with a strong body of troops. In the night Lesley, who saw the importance of the pass, had taken it from the enemy, and was found at the break of day ready to dispute the advance of the nine regiments which Oliver had selected for the attack. The English commander had given orders that the onset should be made at the first break of the dawn; but Lambert, finding the approach seized by the Scots, and not having been able to bring up the artillery as quickly as he expected, did not open his fire till about six o'clock. The word issued by Lesley was the "Covenant;" that on the side of the parliamentarians was the "Lord of Hosts." The conflict, which began with the horse, was obstinate and bloody—a hot dispute at the point of the sword. The first division of the English foot was overpowered and driven back, when Cromwell ordered up his own regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Goff, who made their way against all opposition. "At the point of pike," says he, "they did repell the stoutest regiment the enemy had there, merely with the courage the Lord was pleased to give; which proved a great amazement to the residue of their foot." The cavalry followed up this advantage, charged the infantry, who were already outflanked and deprived of their usual support, and carried confusion into the whole line. Hodgson says, "one of the Scots brigades of foot would not yield, though at point of pike and butt-end of the musket, until a troop of our horse charged from the one end to the other of them, and so left them to the mercy of the foot." In truth, after the right wing was broken,

the Scots, to use the language of the same writer "routed one another," and fell into the most shameful disorder.

The misconduct of Lesley at Down-hill has usually been ascribed to the fanaticism of the ministers attending his army; who, being apprehensive lest the sectaries should escape from their hands, are said to have compelled the general to descend from the high ground of which he had taken possession, in order to intercept their retreat along the coast. In his letter to the Commons already mentioned, Oliver says, "I hear that when the enemy marched last up to us, the ministers pressed their army to interpose between us and home; the chief officers desiring rather that we should have way made, though it were by a golden bridge; but the clergy's counsel prevailed to their no great comfort, through the goodness of God." It is therefore very probable, as the majority of historians continue to assert, that on the 2d of September, the influence of the preachers was more powerful in the Scottish camp than the authority of the commander-in-chief. They induced him, against his better judgment, to alter his position in the presence of the enemy, shouting as they came down, "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!" This false move presented itself with all its consequences to the penetrating eye of Cromwell; and whether he actually made use of the expression which is attributed to him when he saw the Scottish line extending itself into the plain, there can be no doubt that he was satisfied his enemies were about to be delivered into his hands. The arguments reported by Hodgson as having been used by Lambert at the council of officers turned on the very points which must have suggested themselves to the mind of an experienced commander; for it is obvious, from the position of the Scottish army, that if the right wing were turned, the retreating regiments must inevitably throw into confusion the main body, as

well as the left wing, and, in fact, as the captain alleged, "rout one another."

Whatever apology may be urged for Lesley, there can be but one opinion as to the merit of his antagonist. Cromwell does not conceal that, when he compared the strength and advantageous position of the Scottish host with the miserable predicament in which the course of events had placed his own army, he experienced "some weakness of flesh." During six weeks he had been in the field, without gaining the slightest advantage upon his cautious opponent; who, from his better knowledge of the ground, had not only kept him at bay, but harassed him by fatiguing marches, and had even twice obliged him to retreat. At present he found himself hemmed in between an exhausted country in the rear, and a mountainous ridge in front, where, to use his own words, ten men to hinder were better than forty to make their way. All his supplies were drawn from the fleet, and he acknowledged, that in stormy weather it was impossible to land provisions, "though the being of the whole army lay upon it." No wonder, then, that his "faith had become poor and weak." The following description, although extremely indistinct both in language and ideas, affords nevertheless a very intelligible indication of the perplexity in which he felt himself involved. "Because of their numbers, because of their advantages, because of their confidence, because of our weakness, because of our strait, we were in the mount, and in the mount the Lord would be seen, and that he would find out a way of deliverance and salvation for us; and, indeed, we had our consolation and our hopes."

Next morning his hopes were converted into the most elevated triumph and gratulation. Some obstacles indeed opposed his progress and tried his temper. He had commanded the attack to be made at dawn: "but," says Hodgson, "the day broke and we were in disorder, and the major-general awant-

ing, being ordering the guns; the general was impatient; the Scots a-preparing to make the attempt upon us, sounding a trumpet." But his troops at length advanced, gained the pass across the ravine, and began to ascend the eminence on which their enemies were crowded, and where the heat of the combat was naturally to be expected. Cromwell followed closely at the back of his men, and as he moved up the hill, the sun, which had hitherto been concealed by a fog, burst forth with unusual brightness, and threw a flood of light on the wide expanse of the German Ocean which lay at his feet. Seizing the happy moment, he lifted up his arm and exclaimed, "Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered!" This splendid quotation, at a crisis so important, awakened in the enthusiastic bosoms of his veteran soldiers the most animating sentiments of devotional trust and courage. They pushed on with irresistible fury, as the servants of the Lord of Hosts, and soon found, as their leader expected, that their foes would themselves complete their own defeat. Hodgson assures us that he heard him use the expression just repeated, and "following us as we slowly marched, I heard him say, 'I profess they run!' and then was the Scots army all in disorder and running, both right wing and left wing and main battle. The horse fled what way they could get, ours pursued towards Haddington; and the general made a halt, and sang the hundred and seventeenth psalm; and by the time they had done, their party was increased and advancing; the Scots ran, and were no more heard of that fight. The commander of our army was busy in securing prisoners and the whole bag and baggage; and afterward we returned to bless God in our tents like Issachar, for the great salvation afforded to us that day."*

* Captain Hodgson appears to have been a pious man, and much addicted to devotional exercises. But it is doubtful whether his general would have approved of his conduct on the following occasion, at a mo-

After the first repulse, said the victorious general, they were given by the Lord of Hosts as stubble to the swords of his men. The number of slain on either side, it may be presumed, was never accurately known; for Cromwell, who was always as much disposed to overrate the loss of his enemy as to diminish that which his own army sustained, must necessarily have written at random, the day after the fight, when he estimated the amount of killed on the part of his antagonists at three thousand. The prisoners are rated at ten thousand; while the whole baggage and train, all the artillery, amounting to thirty guns, two hundred colours, with fifteen thousand stand of arms, which fell into the hands of the English, contributed to attest the extent of their triumph. Oliver boasts that his soldiers had the "chase and execution" of the fugitives near eight miles; and there is little doubt that more men were slain in the flight than in the brief struggle of the battle.

Sir James Balfour, whose authority, being that of a contemporary writer, is perhaps equal to that of Cromwell, relates in his Annals, that the number killed in the Scottish army did not exceed eight or nine hundred. He admits that many of the foot were wounded, that many were taken prisoners, and that the horse and cavalry were completely dispersed; but adds, that in other respects they received little or no hurt.

The return of casualties, on the other side, is so

ment when so much depended upon every man being at his post. "Towards morning we were ordered to march down to Roxburgh House, all the whole army, neither regarding tents nor baggage, and as our regiment was marching at the head of the horse, a cornet was at prayer in the right, and I appointed one of my officers to take my place. I rode to hear him, and he was exceedingly carried on in the duty. I met with so much of God in it, as I was satisfied deliverance was at hand; and coming to my command, did encourage the poor weak soldiers, which did much affect them, which when it came to it, 'a little one was indeed as David, and the house of David as the angel of the Lord.'" Zech. xii. 8 —Hodgson's Memoirs, p. 146.

very moderate as to excite some suspicion of concealment. Cromwell says, "I do not believe we have lost twenty men; not one commissioned officer slain that I hear of, save one cornet, and Major Rooksby, since dead of his wounds." This statement will appear more improbable when compared with the facts recorded by the conqueror himself, that his horse advanced in the face of cannon and infantry, which were placed in a "good posture" to receive them—that there was a very hot dispute between the cavalry at sword's point—that his first detachment of foot was overpowered and driven back, and that he found it necessary to call up his own regiment to sustain them in their return to the charge. But it was a rule with Oliver to ascribe his success to divine interposition, and hence, as Dr. Lingard remarks, the extent of his losses was always *miraculously* small.

The day after the battle, Cromwell issued a notice, to be proclaimed by beat of drum, granting permission to all the inhabitants to repair to the field, and to carry off in carts, or any other peaceable way, the wounded men who had not been otherwise removed, and were still unable to walk. It is reported, moreover, that he granted liberty to about five thousand prisoners, who appeared unfit for future service; the number whom he sent into England not much exceeding three thousand, the most of whom soon afterward died a miserable death. When they reached Morpeth, they were put into a large walled garden, where they ate up raw cabbages, leaves and roots; "so many," says Sir Arthur Hazlerig, to whose charge they were committed, "that the very seed and labour, at fourpence a day, was valued at nine pounds; which cabbage, as I conceive, they having fasted, as they themselves said, near eight days, poisoned their bodies, for as they were coming from thence to Newcastle, some died by the way side." At Dur-

ham, they were lodged in the cathedral, the bishop's house being converted into an hospital: but such was the destructive nature of the dysentery brought on by the miserable treatment to which they had been subjected, that, on the 8th of November, only six hundred enjoyed any degree of health, while five hundred were sick, and "sixteen hundred were dead and buried."

In his celebrated despatches to the Speaker, the victorious general, as usual, reminds the parliament of their spiritual duties:—"May it please you to give me the leave of a few words: it is easie to say the Lord hath done this: it would do you good to see and hear our poor foot go up and down making their boast of God: but, sir, it is in your hands, and by these eminent mercies God puts it more into your hands, to give glory to him, to improve your power and his blessings to his praise. We that serve you, beg of you not to own us, but God alone: we pray you own his people more and more, for they are the chariots and horsemen of Israel: disown yourselves, but own your authority, and improve it to curb the proud and the insolent, such as would disturb the tranquillity of England, though under what specious pretences soever; relieve the oppressed, hear the groans of poor prisoners in England; be pleased to reform the abuses of all professions, and if there be any one that makes many poor to make a few rich, that suits not a commonwealth. Since we came into Scotland, it hath been our desire and longing to have avoided blood in this businesse, by reason that God hath a people here fearing his name, though deceived; and to that end have we offered much love unto such in the bowels of Christ; and concerning the truth of our hearts therein have we appealed unto the Lord. The ministers of Scotland have hindered the passage of these things to the hearts of those to whom we intended them; and now we hear that not only the deceived people, but some of the

ministers are also fallen in the battle. This is the great hand of the Lord, and worthy of the consideration of all those who, taking into their hands the instruments of a foolish shepherd, to wit, meddling with worldly policies and mixtures of earthly power, to set up that which they call the kingdom of Christ—which is neither it, nor, if it were, would such means be found effectual to that end—and neglect or trust not to the word of God, the sword of the spirit which is alone powerful and able for the setting up of that kingdom; and when trusted to, will be found effectually able to that end, and will also do it. This is humbly offered for their sakes, who have lately too much turned aside, that they might return again to preach Jesus Christ according to the simplicity of the gospel, and then, no doubt, they will discover and find your protection and encouragement."

It cannot be concealed that the ministers were extremely hostile to Cromwell, and regarded him as the enemy of all true religion and godliness. They asked a young officer who had been wounded and taken prisoner, "how long he had served under Antichrist, that proud man Cromwell, over whose head the curse of God hung for murdering the king, and breaking the Covenant: and assured him that they did daily expect when the Lord should deliver him into their hands." When, on another occasion, the English general sent a proposal for the exchange of some men who had fallen into his hands, Lesley was instructed to send the *blasphemer* this answer, "that his horse and foot would not be molested in their peaceable retreat home to their own country" While by such conduct they incensed the invaders, they by a different mode of procedure paved the way for their ultimate success. They drove from the army the most experienced portion of the soldiers, under pretence that they were unfriendly to their constitution in church and state, and conse-

quently objects of displeasure in the sight of God. "The committee of parliament," says Sir James Balfour, "for purging the armey did meitt this second, third, and fifth dayes of August; they did nothing against the enimey, bot purged out of the armey above eighty commanders. The ministers in all places preched incessantly for this purging, showing, if that committee did not proceid, the consequences that wold follow wold certainly prove lamentible and destructive, and wold undoubtedly multiplie God's judgments upon the land and armey."*

Although to every eye possessing the smallest share of discernment the causes of the late defeat were perfectly obvious, the commissioners of the General Assembly met at Stirling on the 12th of September, to inquire into the causes of their failure, and to set forth a short declaration and warning to all the congregations of the Kirk of Scotland. In general they ascribe their loss, not to the impertinent interference of clergymen with military counsels—the cause which Cromwell discovered at the first glance—but to some speculative errors in theological doctrine and church government, which were still held by many of their people. For this reason they enjoin a solemn fast and public humiliation, specifying thirteen different subjects on which their grief and repentance should be exercised during the performance of their religious duty.

1. The continued ignorance and profanity of the body of the land, &c.

2. The manifest provocations of the king's house, which they feared were not thoroughly repented of, nor forsaken by him to that day, &c.

3. The bringing home with the king a great many malignants, &c.

4. The not purging of the king's family from malignant and profane men, &c.

* Annales of Scotland, p. 89.

5. The leaving of a most malignant and profane guard of horse to be about the king, who, having been sent for to be purged, about two days before the defeat, were suffered to go on unpurified, and even to fight in the army, &c.

6. The exceeding great slackness of many, especially in those things which concern the purging of judicatories and the army from malignants, &c.

7. The exceeding great diffidence of some of the chief leaders of the army, who would not hazard to act any thing, notwithstanding that God offered fair opportunities, &c.

8. The looseness, insolence, and oppression of many in the army, and the little or no care that was taken to preserve the corn, &c.

9. Great unthankfulness for former mercies, and even for God's goodness towards the present army while they were together, &c.

10. The eying of the king's interest and quarrel by many, without subordination to religion, &c.

11. The carnal, self-seeking, and crooked way of sundry in the judicatories and army, &c.

12. The not putting a difference between those who fear God and those who fear him not, &c.

13. The exceeding great negligence that is in great ones, and many others, in performing duties in their families, together with a great mixture of carnal affections and fleshly wisdom, &c.

These reasons, as they conveyed censure against all but the parties who were most deserving of blame, were not unanimously received. Several ministers refused to read them in their churches, alleging that they were founded upon inaccurate information, or on a malicious spirit of detraction; and consequently that their first effect would appear in dividing still farther an unhappy and most distracted country.

Cromwell, on the other hand, showed much more

temper, and followed a better policy. After his victory at Dunbar, he advanced towards Edinburgh and Leith, both of which places opened their gates without any attempt at resistance. Still desirous to gain the confidence of the inhabitants, he issued a proclamation on the 14th of September, assuring to all classes of the people, not actually bearing arms, the fullest protection of their persons and property, and inviting them to bring their corn, cattle, and wares to market as formerly, without any fear of plunder or violence on the part of the soldiers. On the same day he led his forces on the road to Stirling, in the neighbourhood of which town the Scottish army under Lesley had partially reassembled; but finding the fortress stronger than he had expected, or being unwilling to put his recent advantages to an unseasonable hazard, he withdrew his men, and returned to Linlithgow. While under the walls of the garrison, which he had intended to attack, a trumpeter arrived at his head-quarters, with a request that certain prisoners might be released on ransom; to which the lord-general wrote an answer, that "We came not hither to make merchandise of men, or to get a gain to ourselves, but for the service and security of the commonwealth of England."

Finding that he could not make any impression on the main body of the Scottish army, he repaired to Glasgow, that he might have it in his power to watch the motions of the fanatical remonstrants, with whom he was much more desirous to negotiate than to fight. Gillespie, afterward principal of the college, had at that time the chief management of ecclesiastical affairs in the west. Oliver sent for him one morning, and gave him a long prayer, explanatory of his own views and of his visiter's duties. On the following Sunday the general went to the Cathedral church, attended by his officers; on which occasion the minister, said by some authors to have been the famous Zachary

Boyd, and by others a Mr. James Durham, formerly a captain of horse, inveighed against the sectariar commander, as an enemy of God and of the true faith. Thurlow, who was present, said he would shoot the scoundrel, and put his hand to his belt to seize a pistol. "No, no," said Oliver, "we will manage him in his own way." After service he asked the preacher to dine with him—an invitation which the other accepted; when, having made a brief repast, Cromwell asked him to pray, and afterward took his own turn of the pious exercise, in which he continued three hours. In this manner, and by other means with which the public were not made acquainted, the Presbyterian divine was brought to entertain a high opinion of the English commander—a change of opinion which he did not fail to show the very next time he ascended the pulpit.*

It must have been on the same occasion that Cromwell recognised in the church an old playfellow, named Wilson, who had served his apprenticeship as a shoemaker in the borough of Huntingdon. Going out of the Cathedral, after divine service, the general called his old acquaintance; who, being the son of a royalist, took fright and ran away. When he was brought back, Oliver spoke kindly to him, and gave him some money to drink his health. Encouraged by this familiarity, Wilson, who had observed the impatience of Thurlow, ventured to ask his ancient friend what it was that the officer had said to him during the sermon. "He called the minister an insolent rascal," replied Cromwell, "and asked my leave to pull him out of the pulpit by the ears; but I commanded him to sit still, saying, that the minister was one fool, and he another."†

* At Glasgow, Cromwell took up his lodgings and held his levees in Silver Craig's Close, on the east side of the Salt Market, nearly opposite the Bridgegate, now used as a sale-room for old furniture.—*Cleland's Statistical Annals*, p. 179.

† Tales of a Grandfather, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 71.

Upon his return to Edinburgh, the commander of the English forces laid siege to the Castle, which he was extremely desirous to reduce, that he might have in it at once a place of arms, and a well-protected magazine of provisions, stores, and ammunition. An express, dated on the 26th of October, mentions, that the "mine intended to be sprung under the Castle goes on very well; they have now wrought sixty yards into it, and are come to the hard rock, so that a few days will produce the desired effect. The two mortar-pieces being come from Hull, I hope we shall go to work that way. We are raising a platform for the battery, which with the mine will, we hope, tend much to the reducing of the same. They in the Castle have been so angry at it, that for two or three nights together, they discharged seven pieces of ordnance against it, but did not spoil it much."

These facts, trifling as they are, deserve the notice of the reader, because it has been insinuated that Dundas, the governor, did not use all the means in his power to defend the strong-hold committed to his trust. On the 12th of December, a summons was sent in regular form by Cromwell, demanding that the Castle should be surrendered on fit conditions; not, as on former occasions, for the service of the English parliament, but to himself individually.

The Scottish historians, indignant that a place of so much strength should have surrendered without a struggle, have not hesitated to assert, that the English obtained admittance into the Castle by means of a silver key. It is manifest, at all events, that the exertions of the governor were paralyzed by the intelligence which was daily communicated to him of the dissensions which prevailed between the royal party and the rigid adherents of the Covenant. The king had been treated by the latter body with so little regard to his rank and feelings, being de-

prived, by their authority, of his personal friends and most devoted followers, that he fled from his court, to seek a less irksome asylum among an association of cavaliers who had taken arms in his cause. The fidelity of Dundas appears to have been shaken by the incessant ebb and flow of public affairs; for assuredly it admits not of any doubt, that he was not compelled to lower his flag on the ramparts of Edinburgh by the approach of famine, or by the hazard of an immediate assault. Well might Cromwell, in his letter to the parliament, assert that the mercy was very great and seasonable. "I think I need say little of the strength of the place, which, *if it did not come as it did*, would have cost very much blood to have attained, if at all to be attained, and did tye up your army to that inconvenience that little or nothing could have been attempted whilst this was in design, or little fruit had of any thing brought into your power by your army hitherto without it. I must needs say, not any skill or wisdom of ours, but the good hand of God, hath given you this place. I believe all Scotland hath not in it so much brass ordnance."

It is believed that Cromwell, for the purpose just stated, availed himself of a correspondence into which he had thought proper to enter with some of the more rigid ministers, who had taken refuge in the garrison after the defeat at Downhill Both parties made the governor the medium of their communications; and it has been suspected, that the politic Independent, under cover of a theological discussion, applied to the wavering principles of Dundas such arguments as finally shortened the labours of the siege.*

* "The Castle," says Sir Edward Walker, "then was, and yet is, under the command of one Dundas, son-in-law to the old General Leven, a young man of no experience, but it is enough that he is solely at the devotion of the ruling party; for it hath been since reported—whether true or given out, I cannot tell—that he would render it to Cromwell in case they deserted their first principles, and took in the Engagers."—*Journal of Affairs in Scotland, anno* 1650, p. 181. For the Articles of Surrender, see Note C, at the end of this volume.

The correspondence now mentioned, took its rise from the following note sent to the governor by order of Cromwell:—"Sir, I received command from my lord-general, to desire you to let the ministers of Edinburgh now in the Castle with you, know that they have free liberty granted them, if they please to take the pains, to preach in their several churches; and that my lord hath given special command, both to officers and soldiers, that they shall not in the least be molested. Edw. Whalley. September 9th, 1650."

The ministers replied, that though they were ready to be spent in their Master's service, and to refuse no suffering in the way of their duty, yet, regarding the persecution directed against the Presbyterians by the English army as altogether of a personal nature, they had resolved "to reserve themselves for better times, and to wait upon Him who hath hidden his face for a while from the sons of Jacob." 9th September, 1650.

Cromwell, in his answer, which is dated on the same day, remarks, that if their "Master's service, as they call it," were chiefly in their eye, imagination of suffering would not have caused such a return as they had made to his free and ingenuous offer. He added, that the Presbyterian ministers in England were supported and had liberty to preach the gospel, though not to rail; nor, under pretence of expounding Scripture, to overtop the civil power, and debase it as they please. The same permission had been granted in Scotland; and no man could say, since the entrance of his army, that he had been molested in the exercise of his spiritual functions. Truth, said he, becomes the ministers of Christ; but when they pretend to a glorious reformation, and lay the foundation thereof in getting to themselves worldly power, and can take worldly measures to accomplish the same, they may know that the Zion promised and hoped for

will not be built with such untempered mortar. "And although they seem to comfort themselves with being the sons of Jacob, from whom they say God hath hid his face for a time, yet it is no wonder, when the Lord hath lifted up his hand so eminently against a family as he hath done against this, and men will not see his hand, if the Lord hide his face from such; putting them to shame both for it and for their hatred at his people, as it is this day." He concluded by reminding the ministers, that when they should trust entirely to the sword of the Spirit, which alone is able to square and fit the stones for the new Jerusalem, then the city of the Lord would be built, the Zion of the Holy One of Israel.

The next letter from the clergy dwells much upon the sufferings of their brethren in England, who had been deprived of their benefices, and compelled to leave their dwellings, merely for declaring the will of God against the godless and wicked proceedings of men. They allege, moreover, that the promise of liberty to preach unmolested was nugatory and deceptive, so long as they were not permitted "to speak against the sins and enormities of civil powers, since their commission carrieth them to speak the word of the Lord unto, and reprove the sins of, persons of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest:" that, to "impose the name of *railing* upon such faithful freedom, was the old practice of malignants against the ministers of the gospel, who laid open to people the wickedness of their ways;" and they declare that their consciences bear them record, that they meddle not with civil affairs further than to hold forth the rule of the Word by which the straightness and crookedness of men's actions are made evident. But they were especially indignant, that men of mere civil place and employment should usurp the calling of the ministry, to the scandal of the reformed kirks, particu-

arly in Scotland, and contrary to the government and discipline therein established; to the maintenance whereof, they insisted that Cromwell continued bound by the Solemn League and Covenant. In allusion to the recent appeal made by both parties at Dunbar to the God of battles, the consideration of which their military correspondent had pressed upon their attention, they satisfy themselves with observing, that "they had not so learned Christ as to hang the equity of their cause upon events, but desire to have their hearts established in the love of the truth, in all the tribulations that befall them."

The controversy had now proceeded so far, and involved so many points at issue between the Presbyterians and Independents, that Cromwell imagined he could not employ his spare time to better purpose than in writing a full answer to all the objections which had been urged against his principles, whether as a theologian or as the patron of a particular form of ecclesiastical polity. The fruits of his labour appeared in the following letter, which affords one of the best specimens of his talents as a writer, a controversialist, a logician, and a statesman, and is therefore entitled to a place in the biography of its distinguished author.

"Sir,

"Because I am at some reasonable good leisure, I cannot let such a grosse mistake and unconsequential reasonings passe without some notice taken of them. And, first, their ingenuitie in relation to the Covenant, for which they commend themselves, doth no more justifie their want of ingenuitie in answer to Col. Whally's Christian offer concerning which my letter charged them with guiltinesse, deficiencie, than their bearing witnesse to themselves of their adhering to their first principles, and ingenuitie in prosecuting the ends of the Covenant, justifies them so to have done, merely because they say so. They must give more leave henceforward, for Christ

will have it so, will they nil they; and they must have patience to have the truth of their doctrines and sayings tried by the sure touchstone of the Word of God; and if there be a liberty and duty of trial, there is a liberty of judgment also, for them that may and ought to try, which if so, they must give others leave to say and think, that they can appeal to equal judges, who have been the truest fulfillers of the most reall and equitable ends of the Covenant. But if those gentlemen which doe assume to themselves to be the infallible expositors of the Covenant, as they do too much to their auditories of the Scriptures, counting a different sense and judgment from theirs, breach of Covenant and heresy; no marvell they judge of others so authoritatively and severely. But we have not so learned Christ. We look at ministers as helpers of, not lords over, the faith of God's people. I appeale to their consciences whether any trying their doctrines and dissenting shall not incurre the censure of sectary, and what is this but to deny Christians their liberty, and assume the infallible chayre? What doth he, whom we would not be likened unto, doe more than this? In the second place, it is affirmed that the ministers of the gospel have been imprisoned, deprived of their benefices, sequestered, forced to fly from their dwellings, and bitterly threatened for their faithful declaring the Word of God: and that they have been limited that they might not speak against the sins and enormities of the civil powers; and that to impose the name of rayling upon such faithful freedome was the old practice of malignants against the preachers of the gospel. If the civil authority, or that part of it which continued faithful to their trust, true to the ends of the Covenant, did, in answer to their consciences, turn out a tyrant in a way which the Christians in after-times will mention with honour, and all tyrants in the world look at with fear, and many thousands of

saints in England rejoyce to think of it, and have received from the hand of God a liberty from the fear of like usurpations, and have cast off him who trode in his father's steps, doing mischief as far as he was able, whom you have received like fire into your bosom, of which God will, I trust, in time make you sensible: if ministers railing at the civil power, calling them murtherers and the like, for doing this have been dealt with as you mention—will this be found a personall persecution? Or is sin so because they say so? They that acted this great businesse have given a reason of their faith in this action, and some here are ready farther to do it against all gainsayers. But it will be found that these reprovers do not only make themselves the judges and determiners of sin, that so they may reprove, but they also took liberty to stir up the people to blood and armes, and would have brought a warre upon England, as hath been upon Scotland, had not God prevented it; and if such severity as hath been expressed towards them be worthy the name of personall persecution, let all uninterested men judge whether the calling of this practice rayling be to be paralleled with the malignants' imputation upon the ministers, for speaking against the popish innovations in the prelates' times, and the tyrannical and wicked practice then on foot, let your own consciences mind you. The Roman emperors, in Christ's and his apostles' times, were usurpers and intruders upon the Jewish state; yet what footstep have ye either of our blessed Saviour's so much as willingnesse to the dividing of an inheritance, or their meddling in that kind? This was not practised by the church since our Saviour's time till Antichrist, assuming the infallible chaire and all that he called the church, to be under him, practised this authoritatively over civil governors.

"The way to fulfil your ministry with joy is to preach the gospel, which I wish some who take

pleasure in reproof at adventure doe not forget too much to doe.

"Thirdly, you say you have just cause to regret that men of civil employments should usurp the calling and employment of the ministry, to the scandall of the reformed kirks, &c.

"Are you trubled that Christ is preached? Is preaching so inclusive in your function? Doth it scandalize the reformed kirks, and Scotland in particular? Is it against the Covenant? Away with the Covenant, if this be so. I thought the Covenant and these would have been willing that any should speak good of the name of Christ; if not, it is no covenant of God's approving, nor are the kirks you mention in so much the spouse of Christ. Where doe you finde in the Scripture a ground to warrant such an assertion, that preaching is included in your function? Though an approbation from men hath order in it, and may doe well, yet he that hath not a better warrant than that hath none at all. I hope He that ascended up on high may give his gifts to whom he please; and if those gifts be the seale of mission, be not envious although Eldad and Medad prophesie. You know who bids us covet earnestly the best gifts, but chiefly that we may prophesie, which the apostle explains there to be a speaking to instruction, and edification, and comfort, which the instructed, edified, and comforted can best tell the energy and effect of; if such evidence be, I say again, take heed you envy not for your own sakes, lest you be guilty of a greater fault than Moses reproved in Joshua, for envying for his sake; indeed, you erre through the mistake of the Scriptures, approbation is an act of conveniency in respect of order, not of necessity to give faculty to preach the gospel. Your pretended fear lest error should step in is like the man who would keep all the wine out of the country, lest men should be drunk. It will be found an unjust and unwise jealousie to deny a

man the liberty he hath by nature, upon a supposition he may abuse it; when he doth abuse it, judge. If a man speak foolishly, you suffer him gladly, because ye are wise; if erroneously, the truth more appears by your conviction; stop such a man's mouth with sound words that cannot be gainsaid; if blasphemously, or to the disturbance of the publique peace, let the civil magistrate punish him; if truly, rejoyce in the truth: and if you will call our speakings together since we came into Scotland, to provoke one another to love and to good works, to faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and repentance from dead works, to charity and love towards you, to pray and mourn for you, and for the bitter returns to, and incredulity of, our professions of love to you —of the truth of which we have made our solemn and humble appeals to the Lord our God, which he hath heard and borne witness to—if these things be scandalous to the kirk, and against the Covenant, because done by men of civill callings, we rejoyce in them, notwithstanding what you say.

"For a conclusion in answer to the witnesse of God upon our solemn appeal: you say you have not so learned Christ as to hang the equity of your cause upon events. We could wish blindnesse hath not beene upon your eyes to all those marvellous dispensations which God hath wrought lately in England. But did not you solemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do so too? And ought not you and we to think with fear and trembling of the hand of the great God in this mighty and strange appearance of his, but can slightly call it an event? Were not both yours and our expectations renewed from time to time, whilest we waited upon God to see which way he would manifest himself upon our appeals? And shall we, after all these our prayers, fastings, tears, expectations, and solemn appeals call these bare events? The Lord pity you! Surely we fear because it hath been a merciful and gra-

cious deliverance to us: I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, search after the mind of the Lord in it towards you, and we shall help you by our prayers, that you may finde it out (for yet, if we know our hearts at all), our bowels do, in Jesus Christ, yearn after the godly in Scotland. We know there are stumbling-blocks which hinder you; the personal prejudices which you have taken up against us and our ways, wherein we cannot but think some occasion has been given, and for which we mourn; the apprehension you have that we have hindered the glorious reformation you think you were upon. I am persuaded these and such like bind you up from an understanding and yielding to the minde of God in this great day of his power and visitation; and if I be rightly informed, the late blow you received is attributed to profane counsels and conduct, and mixtures in your army, and such like; the natural man will not find out the cause; look up to the Lord, that he may tell it you, which, that he would do, shall be the fervent prayers of your lovinge friend and servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL.

"*Edin., Sept.* 12, 1650."

The opposition which Cromwell might otherwise have had to encounter in Scotland was greatly weakened by the dissensions of the two bodies into which the Presbyterians were at that time divided. The more violent faction were equally opposed to the English sectaries at Edinburgh, and to the royalists who attended the court of Charles the Second at Stirling or Perth. Five thousand horse, raised in the counties of Renfrew, Ayr, Galloway, and Dumfries, placed themselves under the command of Strachan and Kerr, officers who, without actually abjuring kingly power, seemed desirous to combine in the government of both nations the principles of the Covenant with those of the commonwealth. In

practical politics they were arrayed against Charles while, as to the outward form of religion, they were in arms against Cromwell; but as Strachan had formerly served in the army of the latter, he thought that he was more likely to succeed in a negotiation with the English than with the adherents of the prince, whose principles were supposed to be tainted with a great infusion of malignancy. Lambert, meanwhile, was sent into the west to watch the motions of those ardent religionists. He fixed his head-quarters at Hamilton, where he was attacked in the night by Kerr, at the head of his irregular cavalry; who had determined to strike a blow before he should be superseded by Montgomery, a more temperate commander, whom the parliament had appointed to succeed him. The assailants were defeated with great loss; Kerr himself was taken prisoner, and his followers sought for safety in their hills and morasses.

Cromwell, in a communication to the council of state, expresses great thankfulness for this mercy conferred by "a very gracious hand of Providence.' He remarks, "that if God had not put it into the heads of the fanatics to attack the English, he might have marched three thousand horse to death, and not have lighted on ten of them." He remarked with secret pleasure the great distraction which prevailed among the Presbyterians, which he described as the mighty working of God upon the hearts of the Scots, both ministers and people. The strict portion of the Covenanters, who had lamented the death of Charles the First less than they now bewailed the treaty with his son, declared, by a formal deed, that the engagements made with the prince were unlawful and sinful—disowned his interest in the quarrel with the enemy—and charged the leading men in the nation with the guilt of the war under which the country was then groaning. Cromwell perceived that the opinions of these per

sons tended much to the justification of his cause, and to the condemnation of the policy recently pursued by the Scottish parliament. One of the lords of session, struck with a sense of blood-guiltiness made a solemn recantation, and demitted his office —an example which was followed by Mr. James Livingston, one of the commissioners of the kirk for conducting the treaty of Breda, who, after lamenting his errors in the presence of the assembly, resigned his appointment, and retired into the obscurity of his parish. The praise of the English general, in his despatch of the 4th of December, is lavished upon these martyrs to the cause of sincerity; but he is obliged to add, that there are "some as bitter and bad as ever, making it their businesse to shuffle hypocritically with their consciences and the Covenant, to make it lawful to joyn with malignants, which now they do, as well they might long before."*

The greater part of the winter was spent by Cromwell in regulating the affairs of the army, in reducing certain small fortresses on the shores of the Firth, and in attempts to gain over to his cause the more violent members of the assembly, who continued to animate the resistance of the protesters and remonstrants. He occasionally allowed them to officiate to his soldiers, although he never failed to receive from them, even in the hearing of his men, the most unmeasured abuse as a breaker of the Covenant and the patron of lay-preaching. Tired of this ranting, he appointed a conference with Mr. Guthrie and Mr. Patrick Gillespy, in order that all causes of misunderstanding might be taken away; but although there was no bitterness nor passion vented on either side, neither party succeeded in making converts of the other. For this reason, he not unfrequently employed one of his own ministers

* Relation of a Second Victorie over the Scots at Hamilton, in Hodgson's Memoirs. Edin. 1806.

to do duty in one of the city churches, whither he and his staff usually resorted. One Sunday, in the autumn of 1650, "his excellency, with his officers, met in the High Church of Edinburgh, forenoon and afternoon, where was a great concourse of people. Many Scots expressed much affection at the doctrine preached by Mr. Stapleton, in their usual way of groans."

The poverty and disaffection of the inhabitants in the adjoining country occasioned many outrages upon the persons and property of the invaders—a grievance which gave rise to the following proclamation by the lord-general:—

"I, finding that diverse of the army under my command are not only spoiled and robbed, but also sometimes barbarously and inhumanly butchered and slain, by a sort of outlaws and robbers, not under the discipline of any army—and finding that all our tenderness to the countrey produceth no other effect than their compliance with and protection of such persons—and considering that it is in the power of the country to detect and discover them (many of them being inhabitants of those places where commonly the outrage is committed)—and perceiving that their motion is ordinarily by the invitation, and according to intelligence given them by countrymen: I do therefore declare, that wheresoever any under my command shall be hereafter robbed or spoiled by such parties, I will require life for life, and a plenarie satisfaction for their goods, of those parishes and places where the fact shall be committed, unless they shall discover and produce the offender. And this I wish all persons to take notice of, that none may plead ignorance.*

"O. CROMWELL."

* The following letter, addressed by Cromwell to the Lord Borthwick, who held his castle for the king, is a curiosity, and deserves to be perpetuated:—

Meanwhile, the friends of Charles, who foresaw that the tranquillity which they were permitted to enjoy at Perth would be broken by the advance of the English army in the spring, used every exertion to augment their forces and to provide the necessary supplies for a decisive campaign. With this view, they prevailed upon the commission of assembly to countenance the reception of such noblemen and others as had avowed loyal principles not sanctioned by the Covenant, or had betrayed their malignancy by joining the expedition under the Duke of Hamilton. The ministers, who saw the independence of their country at stake, consented to receive the acknowledgments of those political offenders, and to prepare them for a purer service, by passing them through a regular ordeal of penance and mortification. The intolerance of the clergy necessarily led to much hypocrisy among the people. Several individuals of the highest rank in the state consented to appear in the face of a mixed congregation, and there on their knees confess the sinfulness of their conduct in taking arms for the house of Stuart without permission from the kirk; bewailing their malignancy and carnal self-seeking at the very moment when they were cherishing the resolution of placing Charles the Second on the throne, and

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"To the Governor of Borthwick Castle, these.

"Sir—I thought fitt to send this trumpet to you, to lett you know that if you please to walk away with your company, and deliver the house to such as I shall send to receive it, you shall have liberty to carry off your arms and goods, and such other necessaries as you have. You have harboured such parties in your house as have basely and inhumanly murdered our men; if you necessitate me to bend my cannon against you, you may expect what I doubt you will not be pleased with. I expect your present answer, and rest your servant,

"O. Cromwell.

"*Edin.*, 18*th Nov.*, 1650."

The castle soon afterward surrendered on very favourable terms. His lordship, lady, and family were allowed to "walk away" unmolested; and fifteen days were granted for removing their effects.—*Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xiii. p. 635.

of ultimately destroying the ecclesiastical tyranny to which they were then compelled to bow.*

The English could not fail to see, in the dissensions which divided the Scottish people, the grounds of their own future success. One of Cromwell's officers, writing to a friend at home, remarks, "Our worke now is to stand still, and see salvation wrought for us: this nation being destined for ruin, which makes them thus divide among themselves when an enemy is in their bowels."

The moderate party, at the expense of truth and candour, succeeded in strengthening their ranks around the person of the prince; upon whose head, on the 1st of January, 1651, they placed his native crown, decorated with the title of King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. "Mr. Robert Douglas, minister of Edinburgh, being appointed by the commission of the kirk, did preach the day of the coronation. After sermon, the National Covenant and the League and Covenant were read to his majesty, both of which he did sweare. The most part of the noblemen of the kingdom were present, and had their robes on and their several crowns. They came in order to the king and touched his crown, and promised to preserve the same: and had each of them a kisse of the king's left cheek. His majesty, when he was crowned, was not anointed at all, because the commission of the kirke, thought it to savour somewhat of superstition."† Five days previously there had been a general fast, to commemorate the sins of the king's house; on which the iniquities of his ancestors, particularly of his father and grandfather, were read from the pulpits, and made the subject of commentary in their sermons, and of deprecation in their prayers.

It was not till the month of March that the Scot-

* See Note D, at the end of the volume.

† Lamont's Diary. See Note E, for further particulars in regard to Charles and his penitent malignants.

tish army was summoned to the head-quarters of the young king. For this purpose the parliament nominated twenty-four noblemen, twenty-four gentlemen, and the same number of burgesses, as a committee for conducting the equipment of new regiments, and for raising suitable supplies of money and provisions. In these preliminary steps they were allowed to proceed with the greater delibera tion, as Cromwell happened, in the month of February, to be seized with a violent fit of ague, which threatened to undermine his constitution. The council of state were not a little alarmed, and sent two able physicians to attend him. In reply to a letter from Bradshaw, he says, on the 26th of March, "Indeed, my lord, your service needs not me. I am a poor creature, and have been a dry bone, and am still an unprofitable servant to my Master and to you." But his friends at Westminster, as well as himself, thought much otherwise; and as the disease continued unabated till towards the end of May, he was advised by them to retire into England for change of air.*

* On the 7th of March, the following note was addressed to the "Lady Cromwell, at Westminster:"—"Honourable Madam, having this occasion of an extraordinary post, I could not omit this opportunity of giving your ladyship some account how my lord-general doth, though I have scarce time to put pen to paper. Truly, madam, my lord took his rest well on Tuesday night last, and so (blessed be God) he hath done every night since, and sometimes in the daytime also, so that he is better sensible [sensibly better], both in Dr. Goddard's judgment, and also in his own; hath a better stomach, and grows stronger. I intend (God willing) to give a further account by the post to-morrow. In the mean time, I humbly beg pardon for this brevity, and rest," &c.

But, two months afterward, the disease had not abated. A letter from Edinburgh, dated on the 20th May, relates, that "from Friday night till Monday night he had five fits of the ague. But Monday at night he had none, but rested and slept well; and this day he is quiet and comfortable, and now and then sleeps; his lips broke out at six at night, which is a good sign of recovery. I waited on him on Thursday. If it please God he escape his fit this night, we may hope the worst is past for this bout. I suppose the post will be staid till morning, to give an account of this night, but that is not my work. This is the third relapse since his first great sickness, which was contracted by a winter's march; my lord is not sensible that he is grown an old man."

A letter from the north, on the 5th of June, says, "We have received

In the beginning of July he was ready for the field, and marched to seek the king. In this, as in the former campaign, Lesley resolved to act on the defensive. He occupied a strong position near the Torwood, whence he could at once command the approach to Stirling, and intercept the movement of any large body of troops into the still more western counties. The English took possession of Falkirk and Linlithgow, together with such villages and gentlemen's seats in the neighbourhood as afforded the means of establishing a garrison. After sundry skirmishes, in which a few men were lost on either side, Cromwell put his troops in motion towards the northern parts of Lanarkshire, as if to threaten the communication of his enemy with the Highlands, and those loyal baronies which stretch along the base of the Grampian mountains. Lesley instantly threw himself in his line of march, and prepared to dispute his progress at Kilsyth, the scene of Montrose's greatest triumph. Oliver returned to the banks of the Forth; and finding that he could not force his passage at Stirling-bridge, he resolved to send, by the Queen's Ferry, a large detachment of his troops to the opposite side of the river, and to reduce the important counties of Kinross, Fife, Perth, and Forfar.

In a letter dated at Linlithgow, on the 21st July, Cromwell explains to the Speaker the reasons of his various movements, as well as the difficulties with which he was surrounded. "After our waiting upon the Lord, and not knowing what course to take (for indeed we know nothing but what God pleaseth to teach us of his great mercy), we were directed to send a party to get us a landing by our

intelligence here that the Lord-general Fairfax hath this day sent his coach from London with two doctors, Dr. Wright and another, to visit his excellency Cromwell. They are expected here to-morrow; but the Lord himself hath (before their coming, blessed be his name!) been his physician, and said unto him, *Live!*"

boats, whilst we marched towards Glasgow. On Thursday morning last, Colonel Overton, with about 1400 foot, and some horse and dragoons, landed at the North Ferry in Fife; we with the army lying near to the enemy (a small river parted us and them), and we having consultations to attempt the enemy within his fortifications; but the Lord was not pleased to give way to that counsel, proposing a better way for us."

He then relates the circumstances of the advantage gained by Lambert over Lieutenant-general Holburne, who was sent with a body of 2500 infantry and cavalry to repel the invasion of Fife. The Scots received a severe check, losing a great many in killed and wounded; among whom were Sir John Browne, and several other officers of distinction. Balfour remarks, "that our party was commanded in chieffe by L.-Gen. Holburne quho that day by all honest men was thought to have played the traitor; bot he was formally cleared at Stirling therefter, and quait his chairge in the armey, for the haill armey exclaimed against him. Gen.-Major Sir Johne Brune, quho fught gallantly, was takin prisoner at this conflicte. There was killed almost alyke on each syde; and of the Scots about 800, most of them foote, quho fught valiantly, and sold their lives at a dear rait." He adds, that the English amounted to 10,000.

The confidence of the reader in the accuracy of the statements issued by the contending parties in this unhappy war cannot fail to be greatly shaken, when he compares the official returns of the casualties sustained by each in the engagement just mentioned. Cromwell reports that the Scots lost two thousand in killed, with about five or six hundred prisoners. Lambert estimates the amount of slain at the same number as his superior officer, but maintains that the prisoners exceeded fourteen hundred. The loss on the part of the English, accord-

ing to the latter authority, was confined to eight men! "So easy did the Lord grant them that mercy!"

That it was a great mercy Cromwell himself most readily admitted, observing, in his letter to the parliament, "we can truly say we were gone as far as we could in our council and action, and we did say one to another, *We know not what to do.* Wherefore it is sealed upon our hearts that this, as all the rest, is from the Lord's goodnesse. I hope it becometh me to pray that we may walk humbly and self-denyingly before the Lord, and believingly also, that you whom we serve may do the work committed to you with uprightnesse and faithfulnesse, and thoroughly, as to the Lord, that you may not suffer any thing to remain that offends the eyes of his jealousie! I shall take the humble boldnesse to represent this engagement of David's, in the 119th Psalm, verse 134, 'Deliver me from the oppression of man, so will I keep thy precepts.'"

Nothing is more characteristic of this great leader, than that mixture of military details with spiritual reflections which appeared in his successive communications to parliament and the council of state: and it is with the intention of exhibiting his habitual frame of mind, or it may be only, perhaps, his accustomed forms of speech when addressing his superiors, that so many quotations have been given from his Scottish despatches. It is impossible in any other way to arrive at a full and correct comprehension of the motives which usually influenced that most extraordinary man. His actions were indeed great and memorable; but the most brilliant of his exploits, if viewed apart from the counsels in which they originated, and from the arguments by which they were recommended to the approbation of the world, do not afford a complete view either of his talents or his principles. In the field of battle and on the march, Cromwell did not differ much from

a successful general in any age; but when he retired to his tent to imbody in writing the events which he had directed, or to record his success in a public letter, or to carry on a controversy with hostile divines, we are supplied with a picture of a warrior, a statesman, and a theologian, such as had never appeared before, and which, it is probable, the lapse of ten centuries may not again produce.

In pursuance of the plan already mentioned, the English commander transported his army into Fife, and proceeded towards Perth, which surrendered to him after a siege of two days. This bold measure, which was meant to draw the Scottish army from the strong ground near Stirling, and, consequently, to a greater distance from its chief resources, induced the young king to adopt the hazardous counsel of marching into England. Charles, accordingly, on the 31st of July, broke up his camp near the Tor wood, and, at the head of twelve or fourteen thou sand men, who had resolved to share the fortunes and perils of their sovereign, turned his face towards the border, with the view of concentrating his forces at Carlisle.*

* The town of Perth surrendered upon terms to Cromwell, August 2d or 3d, 1651. Several persons had been killed on both sides during the seige, short as it was; and Cromwell, from his batteries, had played his cannon one whole night upon the town. He afterward built a citadel on the South Inch, and to procure stones for the building, demolished one hundred and forty dwelling-houses, the hospital and school-houses, and the mercat-cross, and took between two and three hundred tombstones from the Greyfriars' churchyard.

Andrew Reid was reckoned the wealthiest burgess of Perth in his time. Charles II. when he was crowned King of Scotland at Scone, January 1st, 1651, borrowed from him 80,000 merks, for the repayment of which he gave his bond; and also run a shop account with him to the extent of 60,000 merks. But the king, being forced soon afterward to abandon his dominions, could make no repayment; and even after his restoration, could never find it convenient to repay the money, though the heirs of Andrew Reid demanded it of him. When Oliver Cromwell had taken Perth in August, 1651, Andrew Reid, it is said, presented to him the king's bond, and asked payment. Cromwell told him that he would have no concern with it, for he was neither heir nor executor to Charles Stuart. To which Mr. Reid made this reply, "Then you must be a vicious intromitter."—*From Mercer's Chronicle*, p. 110, &c.

It has been conjectured that Cromwell, by withdrawing his whole army beyond the Forth, intended to throw in the way of the prince the temptation to which he yielded, of confiding himself and his cause to the loyalty of the English nation. But it is placed beyond all doubt, by a letter written at Leith to the Speaker, that the determination of Charles to march southward had not been anticipated. "This," says Oliver, "is not out of choice on our part;" and he did not conceal his fear that it would trouble some men's thoughts, and occasion some inconvenience. But he adds, "this is our comfort, that in simplicity of heart as to God, we have done to the best of our judgments, knowing that if some issue were not put to this businesse, it would occasion another winter's war, to the ruin of your soldiery, for whom the Scots are too hard, in respect of enduring the winter difficulties of this country, and been under the endless expense of the treasury of England in prosecuting this war. It may be supposed, we might have kept the enemy from this by interposing between him and England, which truly I believe we might; but how to remove him out of this place without doing what we have done, unlesse we had a commanding army on both sides of the river of Forth, is not clear to us, or how to answer the inconveniencies afore mentioned, we understand not." He then entreats that the council of state would collect what forces they could without loss of time, to give the enemy some check, until he should be able to overtake them. Meantime, he sent Lambert at the head of the cavalry, who, upon joining with Harrison, whose forces were at Newcastle, was ordered to advance through the western parts of Northumberland, to intercept the Scots in their progress through Lancashire, to watch their motions, and straiten their quarters, but without risking a general engagement.

The trepidation created in London by this move-

ment of the Scottish army was very great. The council of state and the leading members of parliament naturally apprehended that the invasion must have been concerted between Charles and his friends in the south, and expected, of course, to see the cavaliers, as well as the Presbyterians in all parts of the kingdom, rush to arms and espouse the cause of the king. Bradshaw himself, stout-hearted as he was, could not in private conceal his fears. Some raged against Cromwell, and uttered deep suspicions of his fidelity. No one could understand his intentions, nor where he was, nor why he had allowed an enemy to enter the land, when there were no troops to oppose them. Both the city and the country, says Mrs. Hutchinson (by the angry Presbyters wavering in their constancy to them and the liberties they had purchased), were all amazed, and doubtful of their own and the commonwealth's safety. Some could not hide very pale and unmanly fears, and were in such distraction of spirit as much disturbed their counsels.*

The Presbyterians of Lancashire had indeed promised to rise, and Major-general Massey, a distinguished member of that persuasion, was sent before to organize their bands; but as the committee of the kirk had forbidden him to receive into his ranks every soldier who would not take the Covenant the levy proceeded very slowly. He was soon afterward joined by the Earl of Derby, who conducted from the Isle of Man about three hundred horse and foot. A number of Catholics offered their services in the royal cause; but as the ministers had determined that the safety of the kingdom should be intrusted solely to the elect, their assistance was rejected. Lilburn, with a regiment of cavalry, had taken possession of Manchester, where Lord Derby immediately resolved to attack him by surprise.

* Vol. ii. p. 188.

The parliamentary leader had meditated a similar visit to the quarters of the earl; upon which their troops encountered each other in a lane near Wigan, and engaged in a sanguinary conflict. The cavaliers were repulsed with considerable loss, and Derby himself, severely wounded, made a narrow escape from falling into the hands of his enemies.

Meanwhile Charles was advancing into the heart of England, without having met any serious resistance. Lambert and Harrison, finding their united forces to amount to about nine thousand men, resolved to dispute with the royalists the passage of the Mersey. But they arrived too late to break down the bridge; and hence, after a few ineffectual charges on a brigade of cavalry, and offering to the king an opportunity of a general action, they drew off their squadrons. His majesty pushed on till he reached Worcester, where he was solemnly proclaimed by the mayor, amid the loud acclamations of the gentlemen of the county; several of whom, whose principles were suspected by the new government, were confined within the walls of that ancient city.*

The royalists of the west, who were expected to join the king's standard in great numbers, did not increase his force to the extent of more than two or three hundred. Nor did the Welsh, who had taken so active a part in the civil war, think it expedient to expose themselves to a renewal of the calamities which their attachment to the house of Stuart had already brought upon them; more especially as the advance of Charles towards their borders resembled a retreat, much more than the progress of an army destined to replace their sovereign on the throne.

The adherents of the parliament were at once more active and successful in their exertions to raise

* Leicester's Journal, vol. iii p 113, 114. Lingard, vol. xi. p. 76

a military force. Towards the end of August the various detachments which had followed the line of the Scottish invasion assembled on the banks of the Severn; and on the 28th, when Cromwell joined, he could count, of regular troops and militia, not fewer than thirty thousand fighting men.

No sooner were the hostile armies in presence of each other than skirmishes took place between their outposts on both sides of the river. Lambert, after an obstinate struggle, in which Massey received a severe wound, carried the bridge at Upton, and established his position. Other rencounters tried the spirit of the soldiers, and kindled their impatience for the grand conflict which they knew was soon to decide the fortune of the campaign. On the 1st of September, the Scots destroyed two bridges on the Team, about three miles from Worcester, with the view of interrupting the communication with Herefordshire; and it should seem that it was an attempt to repair this loss, on the part of the republicans which brought on the general action two days afterward.

On the morning of the 3d, Fleetwood received orders to force the passage of the Team, while Cromwell threw a bridge of boats over the Severn at Bunshill, near the confluence of the two rivers, in order that he might restore the communication which had been partially cut off. A hot fire near Powick attracted the attention of Charles, who, from one of the towers of the cathedral, was examining the positions of the enemy; and finding that an attack was begun in that quarter, he instantly despatched a reinforcement of horse and foot to the spot, and gave instructions to the commanding officer to prevent, if possible, the formation of the bridge. A similar addition was made to the detachment under Fleetwood, who again outnumbered his opponents, and pressed them with great vivacity

towards Worcester. The Scots, in the hope that by occupying so large a force they might afford to their countrymen on the other side of the Severn an opportunity of breaking the regiments under Cromwell, maintained the most obstinate resistance. They disputed every inch of ground which presented the slightest advantage—fought from hedge to hedge—and frequently charged with the pike, to check the advance of the enemy.

In the mean time Cromwell began to cannonade a fort which had been erected for the defence of the principal gate, and had brought up his troops in two divisions, ready to make an assault on the city. Charles immediately afterward led out the main body of his infantry, with a single squadron of horse, to attack the parliamentarians, under the immediate command of their renowned general. The conflict was maintained on both sides with great resolution, and with varying success. At the first shock, some militia corps recently imbodied were driven back, and the Scots got possession of the guns which were planted to batter the walls; but Oliver, as usual, bringing up some regiments of veterans which he had placed in reserve, recovered the ground that he had lost, and compelled the royalists in their turn to retire. The young king is said to have fought with a degree of courage worthy of a prince who had a crown at stake. An unaccountable omission, however, in not ordering his cavalry to issue from the town to support his foot, rendered all his efforts unavailing; and he was at length obliged to yield to the pressure of the enemy's columns, and to seek refuge within the walls.

The contention in this part of the field lasted three hours. "The dispute," says Cromwell, "was long, and near at hand, and often at push of pike;" and hence the victory, as he describes it, was a glorious mercy, and gained after as stiff a contest for four or five hours—including both sides of the river

—as he had ever seen. Having driven the infantry into the town, he summoned the fort to surrender Colonel Drummond, who commanded the garrison, refused to comply; upon which it was immediately carried by storm, and fifteen hundred men were put to the sword. It is said that Charles attempted to rally his troops in one of the streets, and upon finding that they would not return to the charge, he exclaimed, "Then shoot me dead, rather than let me live to see the sad consequences of this day!"

But it must not be disguised that, according to Clarendon, the king did not, on this memorable occasion, display the valour which other historians have assigned to him. This noble author maintains he was not in the battle at all, having been told that there would be no fight that day; and that it was not until he was informed his troops were running in all directions, that he mounted his horse, and endeavoured to collect his cavalry, with the view of making an effort to restore his fortune. But his lordship, it has been proved, is very little entitled to credit in regard to the main facts connected with the battle of Worcester. He says, for example, that except on the part of the ground where Middleton was stationed, the Scots made no resistance whatever in the action; but that such a general consternation possessed their whole army, that the rest of the horse fled, and all the foot threw down their arms before they were charged. The official statement of Cromwell himself is a sufficient answer to a calumny so utterly groundless; and were not this inaccuracy repeated by Hume, who in many things has followed too implicitly the narrative of the chancellor, it might be regarded as totally undeserving of a formal refutation.

The battle is reported to have begun between two and three o'clock, and to have continued till after sunset. Stapleton, who appears to have written on the field, relates that the word at Worcester, as at

Dunbar, was "The Lord of Hosts;" adding, that "indeed the Lord of Hosts was wonderfully with us. The same signal we had now as then, which was, to have no white about us; and indeed the Lord hath clothed us with white garments, though to the enemy they have been bloody; only this hath been the difference, that at Dunbar our work was at break of day, and done before the morning was over; but now it was towards the shutting of the evening, and not past till the night came so on us that we could not see far before us: that was the beginning of their fall, before the appearance of the Lord Jesus; this seems to be the setting of the young king's glory."*

It is said that the king lost in this action three thousand killed and ten thousand prisoners, among whom were many persons of quality. On the following day Cromwell wrote to parliament, stating that the battle had been fought with various success for some hours, but still hopeful on their part; and that in the end it became an absolute victory. "What the slain are I can give you no account, because we have not taken an exact view, but they are very many; and must needs be so, because the dispute was long and very near at hand, and often at push of pike, and from one defence to another. There are about six or seven thousand prisoners taken here, and many officers and noblemen, Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Rothes, and diverse others." He added, that the Earl of Loutherdaile, with many

* This Stapleton was a preacher in the Independent army, but he cannot have been possessed of much humane feeling. Having described the discomfiture of the Scots, he adds, "The country would do well to rise upon the fugitives, that they may not rally again or imbody to do any more mischief. You know what you have to do; blesse the Lord with us and for us." Now it is manifest that the recommendation of this pious man was, to give a direct and avowed encouragement to the peasantry to seize and murder in cold blood all the unfortunate royalists who should fall into their hands—a counsel which is said to have been very generally followed in respect to the Scots, whose speech bewrayed them.

other officers, were in custody, and some that wil be "fit subjects of your justice. Indeed it was a stiffe businesse, and yet I do not think we have lost two hundred men. The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts; it is, for aught I know, a crowning mercy; surely if it be not, such a one we shall have." He concludes by begging that all thoughts may tend to the promoting of His honour, who hath wrought so great salvation; and that the "fatness of these continued mercies may not occasion wantonness and pride, as formerly."*

The high sense which parliament entertained of this victory may be learned from the instructions given to the commissioners whom they sent to thank Cromwell for his zeal and activity as the captain-general of their forces. They were desired, in the name of the government, to congratulate his lordship upon the good recovery of his health after his dangerous sickness; and to take notice of his unwearied labour and pains in the late expedition into Scotland for the service of the commonwealth—of his diligence in prosecuting of the enemy when he fled into England —of the great hardships and hazards to which he had exposed himself, and particularly at the recent fight at Worcester—of his prudent and faithful conduct throughout that whole affair, which the Lord from heaven had so signally blessed and crowned with a complete and glorious issue. They were likewise to let his lordship know, that the enemy being totally defeated, the state of things both in Scotland and England was such as might dispense with his continuing any longer in the field; on which

* Among the prisoners were the Duke of Hamilton, mortally wounded; Earls of Lauderdale, Rothes, Carnwath, Kelly, Derby, Cleveland, Shrewsbury, Lord Sinclair, Lord Spynie, Kenmure, Grandison, Sir J. Packington, Sir Charles Cunningham, Sir Ralph Clare, and Mr. R. Fanshawe, secretary to the king; Generals Lesley, Massey, Middleton, Montgomery, Pitscotty, Wemyss, Waddel, White, Faucet, besides nine ministers, nine surgeons, the mayor of Worcester, and all the aldermen. There were taken 158 colours, the king's standard, his coach-horses, and collar

account they were to desire the general, for the better settlement of his health, to take such rest and repose as he should find requisite; and for that purpose to make his residence within a few miles of London, by which arrangement the parliament might have the assistance of his advice in the great and important consultations for the further settlement of the commonwealth, in which they were at that time engaged.

Whitelock, who was one of the commissioners, relates that they met the general near Aylesbury, by whom he was received with all kindness and respect. After delivering their message, each of them received from him a horse and two Scottish prisoners, as a token of his thankful reception of the parliament's regard in sending them to congratulate his late successes. At Acton the victorious general found the Speaker, the Lord-president Bradshaw, many members of parliament, the council of state, the lord-mayor and sheriffs, waiting to do him honour; and escorted by this splendid retinue, he entered London in a magnificent carriage, where he was saluted by the populace with the loudest expressions of admiration and praise. The government, animated by a similar spirit, immediately resolved that lands to the amount of 4000*l.* a year, belonging to the public, should, in addition to the 2500*l.* per annum formerly granted, be settled upon the Lord-general Cromwell and his heirs, as a mark of favour from the parliament for his great and eminent services to the commonwealth. Nor were the other officers altogether forgotten. To reward merit which was so general, it was determined to bring in an act for asserting the right of the commonwealth to so much of Scotland as was then possessed by its forces, and from thence to make an allotment of estates to the commanders who had served in the late campaigns.

On the 17th of September, the day on which he resumed his seat in the House, Cromwell received in person the solemn thanks of the members; after which he and his principal officers were entertained by the city with all possible magnificence. As a still further honour to the conquerors, it was resolved that the anniversary of the battle of Worcester should be kept as a festival for ever throughout the three kingdoms.

It cannot be asserted with any degree of justice that the victors abused their success, except in their treatment of the inferior order of prisoners. A practice was introduced by Cromwell which does little credit to his memory,—of sending to the plantations abroad, as purchased slaves, such common soldiers as fell into his hands in the course of regular warfare. The few survivors of the miserable captives taken at Dunbar were shipped to the West Indies, and sold to the factors of sugar estates. Thousands of their countrymen met the same fate after the defeat at Worcester; and, at a somewhat later period, he condemned to the same punishment a considerable number of royalists in the western parts of England, who had risen against his government. In other respects the suppression of this revolt, for in such a light it was viewed by the parliament, was not accompanied with excessive severity. Several noblemen, indeed, lost their lives on the scaffold; but as they were, generally speaking, subjects of the new commonwealth, they might, without any unusual stretch of law, be regarded as traitors to the supreme authority of the country. Eight suffered death by the sentence of a court-martial sitting at Chester. One of these was the gallant Earl of Derby, who pleaded that quarter had been granted to him by Captain Edge, and that terms ought always to be respected by a court-martial. It was answered that quarter could be granted to enemies only, not to traitors. It is said that he

offered to surrender the Isle of Man in exchange for his life, and that he petitioned Cromwell and the parliament for mercy. But his petition was not delivered by Lenthal, the Speaker, until it was too late—a neglect which can hardly be regarded as accidental.

Ludlow remarks that the general, after this action, took upon him a more stately behaviour, and chose new friends. Neither must it be omitted, that, instead of acknowledging the services of those who came from all parts to assist against the common enemy, though he knew they had deserved as much honour as himself and the standing army, "he frowned upon them;" and the very next day after the fight dismissed and sent them home; well knowing that an experienced militia was more likely to obstruct than to second him in his ambitious designs.

As the course of our narrative will not again turn towards Scotland, it may be more convenient to introduce into this chapter a brief sketch of Cromwell's government in that country, than to notice particular events under a variety of dates, during the whole period of the protectorate.

It is well known that, when he crossed the Tweed in pursuit of Charles, he left General Monk to prosecute his plans in the north, and to carry his conquests beyond the Tay and the Grampian range. His lieutenant lost no time in accomplishing the objects which were thus indicated to him. After a siege of three days he reduced Stirling Castle, in which were deposited the royal robes, the chair of state, and some of the principal records of the kingdom. On the 1st of September he took Dundee by storm, and put to the sword a great number of the unarmed inhabitants, including two hundred women and children. About the same time, having received information that the Committee of Estates, with certain members of the General Assembly, were

met at a small town in the neighbourhood of Perth he sent Colonel Alured, at the head of five hundred men, to attack them, who, coming upon them by surprise, took the whole party prisoners, and sent them off to London. "They were takin," says Balfour, "stript of all they had, and carried to Brughtie, and ther shipped for England. Among the number were Lord Leven, the Earle of Crawford, Earle Marischall, and Lord Ogilvie."

Following up his advantages, he marched to Aberdeen, which made no resistance, and afterward to Inverness, where he built a fort, to protect his men from the sudden assaults of the neighbouring Highlanders. The strong barrier of the mountains prevented him, indeed, from reducing to complete subjection certain clans who occupied the fastnesses which stretch towards the west; but by means of the regular discipline which he was accustomed to enforce, as well as by repeated examples of severity upon the marauders who fell into his hands, he succeeded in repressing the disposition to plunder, which had long been dreaded by the inhabitants of the contiguous plains. Eighteen garrisons, established in different parts of Scotland, afforded protection to the peaceable, and at the same time intimidated those restless spirits whom the habits of a protracted war had inured to the practice of arms. In short, if we except the local disturbances occasioned by the rising of Glencairn, it will be found that Scotland enjoyed, during the usurpation of Cromwell, a greater degree of repose than had fallen to her lot since the union of the two crowns.*

* Burnet's Own Times, vol. i. p. 87. "After this Scotland was kept n great order. Some castles in the Highlands had garrisons put into them, that were so careful in their discipline, and so exact to their rules, that in no time the Highlands were kept in better order than during the usurpation. There was a considerable force of seven or eight thousand men kept in the country: these were paid exactly, and strictly disciplined. The pay of the army brought so much money into the kingdom that it continued all that while in a very flourishing state. Cromwell

The parliament, upon hearing of the successes of Monk, suggested the plan of a union with Scotland, on terms to be settled by commissioners mutually appointed. To prepare the way for this desirable object, St. John, Vane, Lambert, Dean, and three others were sent down to assist the lieutenant-general in settling the affairs of the northern kingdom; but the aversion manifested by the Scots, as well as the political events which soon afterward took place at Westminster, rendered abortive the good intentions of the commonwealth. The civil government was afterward administered by a council of state, consisting of nine members, of whom Lord Broghil was some time president. This body effectually superseded those turbulent committees of the church and estates, who, on the presumption that they represented certain interests in the nation, had long taken upon themselves the management of public affairs, even in defiance of the royal authority. Unshackled, too, by any veneration for feudal institutions, they broke down the power of the nobles and other hereditary chieftains, who were wont to exercise over their vassals a species of arbitrary rule, more vexatious, and, in some cases, more oppressive, than was ever assumed by an imperial despot. The small tenantry and peasants were delighted to find that they had no longer any master except the general government of the country; and that the proprietor of the soil on which they lived could not now compel them to appear at his bar, or to attend his musters for military service.

The higher classes, it is true, felt more sensibly the pressure of the republican administration. A large army, maintained in many parts at the expense

built three citadels, at Leith, Ayr, and Inverness, beside many little forts. There was good justice done; and vice was suppressed and punished; so that we always reckon those eight years of usurpation a time of great peace and prosperity."

of the land-owners, required an extent of revenue to which the resources of Scotland had never before been thought adequate. Ten thousand pounds a month was the assessment regularly imposed for the support of those establishments, military and civil, which Cromwell deemed expedient for the new constitution of the northern provinces; thus affording an additional proof that, under the pretence of freedom and public rights, his government, merely by professing to be popular, could draw from the purses of the nation an amount of taxes five times greater than was ever obtained by all the exactions and arbitrary measures to which Charles was compelled to have recourse.

But in no respect was the government of Cromwell more beneficial to Scotland than in the firmness which he exercised in subduing the factious temper of the clergy. Ever since the Reformation they had laboured, and in most cases with great success, to exalt the spiritual power on the ruins of the civil; claiming, not only an entire independence in respect to the authority of the crown, but assuming the right of dictating to the conscience of the sovereign, and of interfering in all the great questions of state. Differing among themselves, too, they carried dissension into the business of all other classes of men. Armies were raised or disbanded with a reference to theological tenets; and at one time it depended upon a vote of the assembly whether the king could receive into his service the ancient nobility of his realm, or should have it in his power to raise forces in defence of his throne. The tyranny of the commission extended to the most private concerns of the most private individuals, while it affected to control the counsels of the palace, and even to direct the movements of the camp. The most rampant times of popery exhibited not the influence of the priesthood in a light so disagreeable to a liberal mind, nor accompanied

with effects so unfavourable to the progress of society, and the advancement of true religion.

Cromwell determined to check this domineering spirit of intolerance and bigotry. After some vain attempts, by means of his peculiar logic, to draw them from the strong-holds of their system, he disarmed them of the power which they had so long employed in teasing one another, and disturbing the public peace. He granted to them individually full permission to perform the duties of parochial clergymen, and even connived at the practice of the resolutioners of praying for the king; but he resolutely prohibited them from holding an assembly, or from meeting anywhere in such numbers as might attract the notice of the government. On the 20th of July, 1653, an attempt was made to resume ecclesiastical business at the usual place of meeting in Edinburgh. After sermon and prayer the moderator began to call the roll, when there "comes in two lovetennant-colonells of the English forces, and desired them to be silent, for they had something to speak to them." One of the officers demanded by what authority they met—"if by the authority of the late parliament (the Rump), or by authority of the commander-in-chief of the forces, or if by authority of their late king?" The moderator, not being prepared with an immediate answer, offered to repeat the names on the list, that their military visiters might know who were present. But the colonel, finding the roll-call rather tedious, desired the ministers to rise and begone, or, if they would not, he had instructions, he assured them, to use other means for their removal. Upon this the moderator, in the name of the assembly, protested that they were Christ's court, and that any violence or injury done to them might not hinder any subsequent meeting when a convenient occasion should offer itself. "He then asked leave to pray a word before they dissolved. After he had spoken five o-

six sentences the English officer desired them again to begone; notwithstanding, the moderator went on in prayer, but was at length forced to break off, when they arose and walked out. All this time there was a company of English footmen in the kirk waiting upon them, and a troop of horsemen at the port." After the ministers were come forth, they were guarded on both sides by the infantry, and conducted out of town, where they were examined as to their names and places of residence by the commanding officer, who discharged them from ever meeting again, under the penalty of being held breakers of the peace. They were, however, allowed to return within the walls, and to occupy their lodgings one night, upon the promise of leaving the city before eight o'clock next morning. It was enjoined them, that "not above two should be seen together, and that they should send their names and their lodging-place to the court of guard that night."*

In the manner now described was gained for the civil authority a triumph which all the power of the crown in the reigns of James and his son could not have effected. The plea of the moderator that the assembly was "Christ's court," and was therefore not to be questioned by any earthly or temporal jurisdiction, was entirely disregarded by the government of Cromwell. A similar scene took place in Fife about two years afterward, when a party of military officers entered the church and dispersed the assembly; producing no other warrant than a proclamation by General Monk, discharging all public meetings of the clergy.

Not being allowed to meet and dispute on the subjects which divided the two great bodies of the kirk, the ministers became more tolerant in their princi-

* Lamont's Diary, p. 69.

ples, or at least more moderate in their conduct. An historian of that period remarks, that as Cromwell's officers knew the "generality of the ministers were for the king upon any terms, therefore they did not permit the General Assembly to sit (and in this, I believe, they did no bad office), for both the authority of that meeting was denied by the protesters, and the assembly seemed to be more set upon establishing themselves than promoting religion. And I verily believe there were more souls converted to Christ in that short period than in any season since the Reformation, though of triple its duration. Nor was there ever greater purity and plenty of the means of grace than was in this time. Congregations met in great multitudes, some dozen of ministers used to preach, and the people continued, as it were, in a sort of trance, for three days at least. So, truly, religion was at that time in very good case, and the Lord present in Scotland, though in a cloud."*

There is no doubt that the government of Cromwell was, upon the whole, propitious to the quiet and improvement of North Britain. Unlike his conquest of Ireland, which was accompanied and followed by unmixed evil, the success of his arms in the former country checked the current of civil discord, imposed restrictions on the angry passions of the two rival factions, reduced the power of the feudal lords, improved the administration of justice, and replaced the influence of the spiritual estate within its proper limits. So miserable, indeed, was the condition of Scotland at that period, that hardly any change could have been for the worse; and assuredly the circumstances of a people must be wretched in the extreme, when they are found to ascribe the return of happiness to the successful

* Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 54, 55.

invasion of an ancient enemy, and to date the commencement of their prosperity at an epoch when they were under the severe administration of a military government.*

CHAPTER III.

From the Battle of Worcester till the Dissolution of the Long Parliament.

The victory gained by the arms of the commonwealth at Worcester added fuel to the flame of ambition which was already kindled in the breast of Cromwell. His chaplain, Hugh Peters, is said to have observed such a change in the tone of his mind and manners, as to justify the prediction that he would attempt to make himself king. Some authors have stated, that he even proceeded so far as to proffer the honour of knighthood on the field of battle, and that he was with difficulty restrained from exercising, at the period in question, other similar attributes of the royal prerogative.

Upon his return to London, he found himself treated with the respect and deference which were usually confined to crowned heads. He had as-

* Among the numerous reforms introduced by Cromwell was a new constitution given to the Court of Session, a bench which had become so excessively corrupt that it became a common saying that no rich man incurred any hazard of losing his cause there. At first the new judges were all English. Afterward two or three Scots were added, that they might explain the local practices and customs which were involved in the suits to be tried. The Scots were surprised at the impartiality of the decisions which were pronounced by the reformed judicatory. Long afterward, Dalrymple, who was president of the Court of Session, is said to have confessed publicly, that he could never get over the natural partiality to "kith, kin, and ally;" and being reminded of the unbiased conduct of the judges under Cromwell, he replied, "Dei thank them! a wheen kinless lowns"—*Godwin, and Tales of a Grandfather.*

signed for his residence a palace formerly occupied by the monarchs of England; and in petitions, as well as in official communications, addressed to him both by the army and civilians, his ears were saluted with a loftier adulation than was ever lavished upon the descendant of a hundred legitimate sovereigns. The ministers of Newcastle make their humble addresses to his "godly wisdom," and submit their "suits to God and his excellency."

But the parliament, while they heaped rewards upon their victorious general, were not less resolved to retain the supreme power than he was to seize upon it. During his absence in Ireland and Scotland, whither he was accompanied by the more influential of his officers, their authority had acquired a great degree of consolidation; while the success which attended their fleets and armies gave to their administration a high air of popularity at home, and secured for it the respect of all the neighbouring kingdoms abroad.

It therefore became the leading object of Cromwell's policy to lower the power of the parliament, and to limit its duration. On the second day, accordingly, after he had resumed his seat, he reminded the legislature of two measures, long before submitted to their consideration, namely, an act of oblivion or amnesty in behalf of those who had been engaged in the civil war, and the expediency of fixing a period for their own dissolution He succeeded in obtaining a vote of the House on both these subjects. It was resolved, that all political offences committed before the battle of Worcester should be forgiven, with the exception of certain cases, which seemed to demand the visitation of public justice; a decision which relieved the royalists from the apprehension of further penalties, and would thereby, it was imagined, add not a little to the extent of Cromwell's influence, and increase the number of his personal friends. The other question was not determined without a succession

of very warm debates. At length, on the 13th of November, the House met to deliberate whether it were a convenient time to fix the period at which the sittings of the present parliament should cease and, on the next day, it was decided that "this is a proper time." This decision was not adopted without two divisions, the first of fifty to forty-six, and the second, of forty-nine to forty-seven. The period named for the dissolution was the 3d of November, 1654; a distance of three years, which was perhaps not the less pleasing to Cromwell, as it showed how unwilling his adversaries were to resign their power. But it becomes manifest, at the same time, that the authority of the parliamentarians was still nearly equal to that of the army; and thus enables us to account in some measure for the violence of the struggle which afterward ensued between the two parties.

To feel his way in a situation surrounded with so much danger, Cromwell, after a short interval, called a meeting of his friends, both military and political, at the house of the Speaker, in order to obtain their opinion on the great question, whether it were better to perpetuate the commonwealth on fixed principles, or to re-establish a mixed form of monarchical government. The officers in general, and especially Whalley and Desborough, were decidedly averse to monarchy. The lawyers, on the other hand, with Whitelock at their head, pleaded for the revival of the ancient constitution, comprehending king, Lords, and Commons, as being better adapted than a republic to the laws, the habits, and the feelings of Englishmen. The judgment of Cromwell coincided with that now expressed; and assuming that the general sense of the meeting was in favour of monarchical regimen, he inquired whom, in that case, they would recommend to the throne? It was replied, that either Charles Stuart or the Duke of York might be called to occupy their father's place.

provided either of them would submit to the conditions which might be proposed by parliament; and if not, choice might be made of the young Duke of Gloucester, who, from his tender age, could not have imbibed the political sentiments of his brothers, or contracted any dislike to the individuals now at the head of affairs. This was not the answer which Cromwell was desirous to receive: he heard it with dissatisfaction, and studiously drew away the attention of the meeting to some other subject. Having, however, learned the sentiments of those whom he might afterward find it expedient to employ or to oppose, he gave his own opinion in the vague terms which he was accustomed to use when he had no wish that his plans should be fully comprehended. He thought that "somewhat of a monarchical government would be most effectual, if it could be established with safety to the liberties of the people, as Englishmen and Christians."*

The parliamentary leaders could not but be aware that their power was menaced by Cromwell and his council of officers, who seemed determined to act over again the part in which they had succeeded so well during the two years which preceded the death of the king. It was therefore resolved by the House, that, as the enemies of the commonwealth were now entirely subdued, a considerable reduction should be made in the army; whereby the people would be relieved from part of the taxes which had been imposed for its maintenance. The number of the land forces, accordingly, which amounted to nearly fifty thousand, was diminished one-fourth; and the monthly assessment, which had been 120,000*l.*, was lowered to 90,000*l.* Further retrenchments were contemplated in all branches of the public service; but a letter from Cromwell, who did not conceal his disapprobation of their unseason-

* Whitelock, p. 516

able economy, induced the members to postpone their design as it respected the military establishment. As, however, various motions continued to be made from time to time on that subject, a deputation from the council of war presented themselves at the bar of the House with a petition in the name of the army, stating a number of grievances, and praying for speedy reform in sundry departments of the government. They began with an assurance that, having had diverse meetings to seek the Lord, and to speak of the great things which God had done for the commonwealth, it had been set on their hearts as their duty, to offer such things in behalf of their country as, in their judgments and consciences, might tend to its peace and well-being. In pursuance of this intention, they had, with one consent, thought fit to present to the legislature, with all due humility, certain particulars relative to the public interests of the kingdom, which they desired might be taken into early and serious consideration. In the first place, they requested that speedy and effectual means be taken for the propagation of the gospel; that profane, ignorant, and scandalous ministers might be ejected, and men approved for godliness and gifts might be encouraged; that a convenient maintenance might be provided for them, and the unequal, troublesome, and contentious way of tithes be altogether taken away. They next recommended reform in the law, in the excise, in monopolies, unnecessary places, and large salaries. They entreated that all profane persons should be removed from situations of public trust, and their appointments bestowed upon men who feared God and hated covetousness. They dwelt with much earnestness on the claims of the army, and solicited that their arrears might be paid without any further delay. For this purpose they suggested, that the whole revenue of the state should be deposited in one treasury and that the account of receipts and

disbursements should be published once or twice every year. The twelfth and last article of this celebrated petition was, that for the public satisfaction of the good people of this nation, speedy consideration might be had of such qualifications for future and successive parliaments as should tend to the election only of such as were pious and faithful to the interest of the commonwealth.

The occurrence now mentioned took place on the 13th of August, 1652, which was the day after the motion for further retrenchment had been made in the parliament. The deputation consisted of six individuals, Whalley, Hacker, Barkstead, Okey, Goff, and Worseley, all devoted adherents of Cromwell, and the ready instruments of his will even in the most desperate and despotic undertakings. On this occasion, it is worthy of remark, the general did not permit the common soldiers to interfere for the redress of grievances. No meetings or consultations were allowed in the several regiments; no agitators to incite the impatient spirits of the privates, and to hurry them on to the doors of the House, were any longer countenanced by the officers. Cromwell, taught by the events of the past, now meditated a different result, and therefore made choice of a superior class of agents to bring his schemes to maturity. He frequently assembled his military council, reminded them of their long services and manifold privations in the course of the war, which had just been brought to so successful a termination; and assured them that it was the intention of the paltry junto of statesmen who presided at Westminster to keep the precious fruits of victory entirely in their own hands, and to condemn the army to poverty and the most degrading insignificance. He represented the parliament as only the miserable remains of that illustrious body who had met in November 1640, reduced, by successive purgings, desertions, and proscriptions, to a contemptible faction, and actuated by no other

feelings but the love of power and emolument. He thought it equally unjust and disgraceful, that men who had never exposed their persons in the field, nor suffered the wasting fatigues of a campaign, should insist upon enjoying all those good things for the attainment of which the army had so often shed their blood. He declared, that if allowed to continue in the possession of such advantages, they would never resign their offices; but, in defiance of the people whom they professed to represent, and of the soldiers whose privileges they were disposed to trample under foot, would persist in their resolution to domineer over the commonwealth, and to exclude from a share in the government every man of truly patriotic principles. They had been tried four years in the form of a republic; but it was manifest, that while they acknowledged the advantages of equal representation and successive parliaments, they were as far from taking any step towards their own dissolution as they had been at the period of the king's death.

By such arguments and representations Cromwell stirred up his council of officers to oppose the designs of the parliament; for although he knew that the leaders of the army were not yet prepared to submit to the government of a single person, under whatever denomination, he saw the necessity of preventing, in the mean time, the adoption of measures which would soon have rendered futile all his projects of personal ambition. Above all things, it was requisite that the army should be kept entire, and not suffered to forget their own claims and services. It was with this view that the petition of the 13th of August was framed; which, agreeably to the object of its authors, was as much calculated to insinuate blame against the general administration of the legislature and council of state, as to vindicate the rights of the soldiery, and to secure a remuneration for the successful labours of the chiefs.

The boldness of the officers gave great offence to

the majority of the House. Many of the members viewed the proceeding as an act of the most glaring insubordination; and loudly deprecated the arrogance which had been manifested by their armed servants, as altogether inconsistent with the independence belonging to the supreme council of the nation. Whitelock even ventured to remonstrate with Cromwell on the unconstitutional spirit in which the petition had been presented, and besought him not to allow the renewal of such an outrage on the dignity of the House. But Oliver, whose intentions went far beyond the conjectures of the learned keeper, not only slighted the warning which was thus conveyed to him, but made his authority be felt to such a degree, even by those who suspected his motives, that the Speaker was directed to give the petitioners thanks, both for their good affections formerly displayed, and also for their care of the public, expressed on the present occasion.

The Commons, becoming every day more aware of the danger with which they were threatened, resumed at intervals the consideration of their favourite measure, the reduction of the army. The people at large, impatient of the heavy burdens arising from the expense of the war, were ready to co-operate with their representatives, in order to obtain a remission of taxes; an object which they all knew could not be accomplished without a previous diminution of the public establishments. Cromwell himself could not long resist a proposal so reasonable, and therefore became extremely desirous to dismiss the parliament before he should be compelled to acknowledge the expediency of reducing the one-half of his regiments. He determined, therefore, on sounding his friends, that he might know how far they might be disposed to go along with him in changing the form of government. Meeting with Whitelock one evening in the following November, while walking in St James's Park, he took him aside into a more pri-

vate part of the grounds, and began with him a conversation on the state of public affairs. After extolling the faithfulness of the lord-commissioner, and expressing the utmost confidence in his friendship and affection, he alluded to the dangerous condition in which they were placed, owing to the jarring and animosity of those who conducted the administration, by which, he apprehended, they might all be fooled out of the mercies which God had been pleased to bestow upon them. He then went on to observe the dissatisfaction of the army, particularly of the officers, who had not been rewarded according to their deserts; and complained that those who had ventured least, and had undergone neither hazards nor hardships for the commonwealth, engrossed all the good things which the fortune of war had placed within their reach. He did not conceal that the military, as a body, began to entertain a "strong distaste" for the parliament, for which, he admitted, there was but too much reason; inasmuch as their pride, ambition, and self-seeking, their delays of business, and designs to perpetuate themselves, their meddling in private matters between party and party, contrary to the institution of parliament, their injustice, and the scandalous lives of some of the chief of them, were too notorious to be either overlooked or excused.

Whitelock replied, that many of the observations just made were unquestionably true; but expressed his hope that the general did not look upon the majority of the members as depraved. He reminded Cromwell, at the same time, that whatever might be he character or intentions of the legislature, they both had not only acknowledged them as the supreme power of the nation, but had actually accepted their commissions from them; on which account, it would not be easy to devise the means of restraining their authority, without incurring the guilt of rebellion, and even of high-treason. Oliver, undeterred by such suggestions, and knowing that Whitelock,

like most of the lawyers, was favourable to a limited monarchy, came at once to the point, and abruptly asked, "What if a man should take upon him to be a king?" The remainder of the dialogue is so important to the illustration of Cromwell's character and views, that the reader will be pleased to see it in the words of the lord-keeper, who, at a subsequent period, recorded his recollections of it.

"WHITELOCK.—I think that remedy would be worse than the disease.

"CROMWELL.—Why do you think so?

"WHITELOCK.—As to your own person the title of king would be of no advantage, because you have the full kingly power in you already, concerning the militia" (military forces), "as you are general. As to the nomination of civil officers, those whom you think fittest are seldom refused: and although you have no negative vote in the passing of laws, yet what you dislike will not easily be carried; and the taxes are already settled, and in your power to dispose the money raised and as to foreign affairs, though the ceremonial application be made to the parliament, yet the expectation of good or bad success in it is from your excellency; and particular solicitations of foreign ministers are made to you only. So that I apprehend indeed less annoy, and danger, and pomp, but not less power and real opportunities of doing good, in your being general, than would be if you had assumed the title of king.

"CROMWELL.—I have heard some of your profession observe, that he who is actually king, whether by election or by descent, yet, being once king, all acts done by him as king are lawful and justifiable, as by any king who hath the crown by inheritance from his forefathers; and that, by an act of parliament in Henry VII.'s time, it is safer for those who act under a king, be his title what it will, than for those who act under any other power. And, surely, the power of a king is so great and high, and so universally

understood and reverenced by the people of this nation, that the title of it might not only indemnify, in a great measure, those that act under it, but likewise be of great use and advantage in such times as these, to curb the insolencies of those whom the present powers cannot control, or at least are the persons themselves who are less insolent.

"WHITELOCK.—I agree in the general with what you are pleased to observe as to this title of king; but whether for your excellency to take this title upon you, as things now are, will be for the good and advantage either of yourself and friends, or of the commonwealth, I do very much doubt, notwithstanding that act of parliament, 2 Henry VII., which will be little regarded or observed to us by our enemies, if they should come to get the upper-hand of us.

"CROMWELL.—What do you apprehend would be the danger of taking this title?

"WHITELOCK.—The danger, I think, would be this. one of the main points of controversy betwixt us and our adversaries is, whether the government of this nation shall be established in a monarchy, or in a free state or commonwealth; and most of our friends have engaged with us upon the hopes of having the government settled in a free state, and, to effect that, have undergone all their hazards and difficulties; they being persuaded, though I think much mistaken, that under the government of a commonwealth they shall enjoy more liberty and right, both as to their spiritual and civil concernments, than they shall under monarchy, the pressures and dislike whereof are so fresh in their memories and sufferings. Now, if your excellency shall take upon you the title of king, this state of your cause will be thereby wholly determined, and monarchy established in your person; and the question will be no more, whether our government shall be by a monarch or by a free state, but whether Cromwell

or Stuart shall be our king and monarch: and that question, wherein before so great parties of the nation were engaged, and which was universal, will, by these means, become in effect a private controversy only: before, it was national, what kind of government we should have; now, it will become particular who shall be our governor, whether of the family of the Stuarts or of the family of the Cromwells. Thus, the state of our controversy being totally changed, all those who were for a commonwealth (and they are a very great and considerable party), having their hopes therein frustrated, will desert you,—your hands will be weakened, your interest straitened, and your cause in apparent danger to be ruined.

"CROMWELL.—I confess you speak reason in this; but what other thing can you propound, that may obviate the present dangers and difficulties wherein we are all engaged?

"WHITELOCK.—It will be the greatest difficulty to find out such an expedient. I have had many things in my private thoughts upon this business, some of which perhaps are not fit or safe for me to communicate.

"CROMWELL.—I pray, my lord, what are they? You may trust me with them; there shall no prejudice come to you by any private discourse betwixt us; I shall never betray my friend; you may be as free with me as with your own heart, and shall never suffer by it.

"WHITELOCK.—I make no scruple to put my life and fortune in your excellency's hand—and so I shall, if I impart these fancies to you; which are weak, and perhaps may prove offensive to your excellency; therefore, my best way will be to smother them.

"CROMWELL.—Nay, I prithee, my Lord Whitelock, let me know them: be what they will, they cannot be offensive to me, but I shall take it kindly from

you: therefore, I pray, do not conceal these thoughts of yours from your faithful friend.

"WHITELOCK.—Your excellency honours me with a title far above me; and, since you are pleased to command it, I shall discover to you my thoughts herein, and humbly desire you not to take in ill part what I shall say unto you.

"CROMWELL.—I shall not; but I shall take it, as I said, very kindly from you.

"WHITELOCK.—Give me leave, then, first to consider your excellency's condition. You are environed with secret enemies. Upon the subduing of the public enemy, the officers of your army account themselves all victors, and to have had an equal share in the conquest with you. The success which God hath given us hath not a little elated their minds; and many of them are busy and turbulent spirits, and are not without their designs how they may dismount your excellency, and some of themselves get up into the saddle; how they may bring you down, and set up themselves. They want no counsel and encouragement herein, it may be, from some members of parliament, who may be jealous of your power and greatness, lest you should grow too high for them, and in time overmaster them, and they will plot to bring you down first, or to clip your wings.

"CROMWELL.—I thank you that you so fully consider my condition; it is a testimony of your love to me and care of me; and you have rightly considered it; and I may say, without vanity, that in my condition yours is involved, and all our friends; and those that plot my ruin will hardly bear your continuance in any condition worthy of you. Besides this, the cause itself may possibly receive some disadvantage by the strugglings and contentions among yourselves. But what, sir, are your thoughts for prevention of those mischiefs that hang over our heads?

"WHITELOCK.—Pardon me, sir, in the next place,

a little to consider the condition of the *King of Scots* This prince being now, by your valour, and the success which God hath given to the parliament and to the army under your command, reduced to a very low condition, both he and all about him cannot but be very inclinable to hearken to any terms whereby their lost hopes may be revived of his being restored to the crown, and they to their fortunes and native country. By a private treaty with him, you may secure yourself, and your friends and their fortunes, you may make yourself and your posterity as great and permanent, to all human probability, as ever any subject was, and provide for your friends. You may put such limits to monarchical power as will secure our spiritual and civil liberties, and you may secure the cause in which we are all engaged; and this may be effectually done by having the power of the militia continued in yourself, and whom you shall agree upon after you. I propound, therefore, for your excellency to send to the King of Scots, and to have a private treaty with him for this purpose and I beseech you to pardon what I have said upon the occasion; it is out of my affection and service to your excellency, and to all honest men; and I humbly pray you not to have any jealousy thereupon of my approved faithfulness to your excellency, and to this commonwealth.

"CROMWELL.—I have not, I assure you, the least distrust of your faithfulness and friendship to me, and to the cause of this commonwealth; and I think you have much reason for what you propound. *But it is a matter of so high importance and difficulty, that it deserves more time of consideration and debate than is at present allowed us. We shall therefore take a further time to discourse of it.*"

Cromwell, finding that if monarchy were to be restored, the sovereign would be selected from the House of Stuart, resolved to send away from England the young Duke of Gloucester, whom he had

already begun to view in the light of a rival. This prince, who had remained under the charge of Mildmay, governor of Carisbrooke Castle, was, a short time after the conference just described, advised to go abroad with his tutor, and to take up his residence at the court of his sister, the Princess of Orange. The sum of five hundred pounds was granted to defray the expense of his journey. Whitelock himself was soon afterward sent into an honourable exile, as ambassador to Christina Queen of Sweden; it being the intention of the future Protector to remove from the scene of action all who were not disposed to promote his views, as the successor of Charles Stuart.

Cromwell, unwilling to relinquish his object, summoned frequent meetings of his military council and political partisans. He submitted to them that it was now absolutely necessary for their own preservation to dissolve the parliament; and suggested that the sovereign authority should be placed for a time in the hands of a commission, consisting of forty persons, chosen from the army, the senate, and the council of state. He acknowledged, that if this end could be attained with the consent and by a vote of the House, it would be more regular, and less likely to rouse the apprehensions of those at a distance; but he recommended, nevertheless, that, if the members could not be induced to adopt this useful expedient, it should be carried into effect by means over which they could have no control. The meeting was divided in their sentiments on this important and most hazardous measure. Several sided with the general, and were willing to admit the alternative of force, should the parliament prove obstinate. Whitelock, on the contrary, with the majority of the civilians, endeavoured to dissuade him from so violent a resolution; representing the attempt to dissolve the House as extremely dangerous, and the forma-

tion of the proposed council or commission as quite unconstitutional.

It was necessary, once more, for Cromwell to submit to delay. His first step to the throne was meant to be laid on the ruins of parliament, the next to be supported by the council of forty. It was his intention to remove every institution, whether legislative or executive, which had the appearance of having been founded upon the original principles of the English constitution. The proposed council would have been moulded according to his wishes, or, at all events, he counted upon being able to secure a majority of their number, whom he could render subservient to his future plans. But he could not yet carry along with him those powerful minds upon whom he was most accustomed to lean; and therefore he postponed for a few months the grand measure upon which the fortunes of the commonwealth were suspended.

The beginning of 1653 found the legislature occasionally occupied with the question, which they were never long allowed to forget, respecting the time and manner of supplying their own successors. The act which they introduced for that purpose was loaded with conditions extremely offensive to the whole army. It provided, for example, that the members then sitting should be counted as members of the new parliament, without being returned by their constituents; and, moreover, that they should be considered as a committee to pronounce upon the validity of the election of the new representatives, and of their individual fitness to undertake the trust which was about to be confided to them. The officers in the House remonstrated against these provisions, as obviously intended to perpetuate the power of the obnoxious junto; and consequently became more reconciled to the scheme proposed by the general for rooting them out altogether, and for establishing a government on a new and independent basis

Cromwell, on the 19th of April, assembled his friends at his house in Whitehall, where he repeated the arguments which he had so often employed, to convince them of the selfish motives which actuated the majority of the Commons; of their resolution to retain the power which the course of events had thrown into their hands; and of the necessity of putting an end to an ambitious cabal, which had proved itself incompatible with the prosperity and advancement of all other classes of men in the state. Whitelock and Widdrington renewed their precautions, and magnified the hazards which might occur, whether they should fail or succeed in their attempt; but St. John and others, upon whose resolution the general had the greatest reliance, admitted that things had now reached such a crisis as might admit the application of unwonted remedies.

Next day intelligence was conveyed to Cromwell that the Commons, who probably had received notice of what was intended by the council at Whitehall, were about to pass the bill for their own dissolution, encumbered with all the provisions to which the military had objected. So eager were the members to anticipate the violence meditated by their armed servants, that they had resolved to hurry the measure through the different stages without the formality of engrossment. Harrison is said "most sweetly and humbly" to have conjured them to pause before they should take so important a step; while Ingoldsby availed himself of the interval to inform the general of what was about to take place. It was time to act, and he hesitated not a moment; but ordering a company of soldiers to repair to the House, he entered and took his seat on one of the outer benches.

So intense was the observation directed towards Cromwell, that his looks, his dress, his attitude, have been recorded by all the annalists of the period. He had on a plain suit of black clothes, with gray

worsted stockings. At first he seemed to listen with interest to the debate, and manifested no intention to interrupt the proceedings; but when the Speaker was about to put the question, he beckoned to Harrison, who sat opposite to him, and said, "This is the time; I must do it." Upon this he arose, put off his hat, and began to address the House in a mild tone, and in language expressive of modesty and approbation. As he went on, however, his speech became animated, and his remarks less measured, until at length he gave way to the most vehement and personal abuse. He charged the members with self-seeking and profaneness, with the frequent denial of justice, and numerous acts of oppression; with idolizing the lawyers, the constant advocates of tyranny; with neglecting the men who had bled for them in the field, that they might gain the Presbyterians who had apostatized from the cause; and with doing all this in order to perpetuate their own power and to replenish their own purses. But their time, he said, was come: the Lord had disowned them; he had chosen more worthy instruments to perform his work. Here he was interrupted by one of the members, who declared that he never before heard language so unparliamentary and offensive, and the more so, too, because it was uttered by their own servant whom they had too fondly cherished, and whom by their unprecedented bounty they had raised to the elevation on which he now stood. At these words Cromwell put on his hat, and stepping forward from his place, exclaimed, "Come, come, sir, I will put an end to your prating." For a few seconds, apparently agitated by the most violent passions, he paced up and down the hall; and then stamping on the floor, he cried aloud, "You are no parliament! I say you are no parliament! Bring them in, bring them in." Instantly the door opened, and Colonel Worseley entered, followed by a number of musketeers. "This,"

exclaimed Sir Harry Vane, "is not honest. It is against morality and common honesty." "Sir Harry Vane!" replied Cromwell, "O, Sir Harry Vane! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane! He might have prevented this. But he is a juggler, and has not common honesty himself." From Vane he turned to Whitelock, on whom he poured a torrent of abuse: then pointing to Challoner, "There," he cried, "sits a drunkard;" next looking at Marten and Sir Peter Wentworth, "There are two whoremasters." Afterward, selecting different members in succession, he described them as dishonest and corrupt livers, a shame and a scandal to the profession of the gospel. Checking himself, however, all at once in his career of vituperation, he wheeled round to the soldiers, and desired them to clear the House. The Speaker refused to withdraw unless he were compelled to leave the chair; upon which Harrison led forward two of the military to make a show of force, and laying his hand on Lenthal, assisted him to descend. About eighty members, among whom were Algernon Sidney, followed the example of their president, and moved towards the door: upon which Cromwell resumed his address. "It is you," he exclaimed, "who have forced me to do this. I have sought the Lord day and night, that he would rather slay me than put me on the doing of this work!" Alderman Allen took advantage of these words, and told him that it was not yet too late to undo what had just been done; but Cromwell instantly charged him with having defrauded the public to the amount of some hundred thousand pounds as treasurer of the army, and delivered him into custody until he should answer for his peculation. When all had retired, he fixed his eyes on the mace, and said, "What shall we do with this fool's bauble? Here, carry it away." Then snatching the act of dissolution from the hands of the clerk,

ne ordered the doors to be locked, and, in the midst of his guard, returned to Whitehall.*

Whitelock remarks, that "among all the parliament men, of whom many wore swords, not one offered to draw his weapon against Cromwell, or to make the least resistance; but all tamely departed." The lord-commissioner himself was present on that memorable occasion, and received his share of the abuse which was so freely lavished by the general; but it is probable that, when he wrote his memorials, he had forgotten the impression made by the attendance in the House of twenty musketeers with loaded pieces, ready to fire at the first individual who should attempt the life of their chief.

When Cromwell arrived at Whitehall with the mace and keys of the Lower House of parliament, and the act of dissolution in his pocket, he found the council of officers waiting his return with no small anxiety. He related to them his exploit, and concluded by assuring them, that when he went to the House, he did not think to have done what he finally did. "But," said he, "perceiving the spirit of God so strong upon me, I would no longer consult flesh and blood."

We are informed by Ludlow, that this bold measure did not give satisfaction to all the army. Some of the officers, well affected to the commonwealth, repaired to the general, and required an explanation

* "We were labouring here in the House on an act to put an end to that parliament and to call another. I desired the passing of it with all my soul. The question was putting for it when our general stood up and stopped the question, and called in his lieutenant, with two files of musketeers, with their hats on their heads, and their guns loaden with bullets. Our general told us we should sit no longer to cheat the people. The Speaker, a stout man, was not willing to go. He was so noble, that he frowned, and said he would not come out of the chair till he was plucked out; which was quickly done without much compliment by two soldiers, and the mace taken: and there was an end of the third estate also."—BURTON'S *Diary*, vol. iii. p. 98.

The speaker is Sir Arthur Hazlerig; and his testimony removes all doubt from the fact, that the House intended to proceed to its own dissolution.

of his unusual proceedings; alleging that the way they were now going could only lead to ruin and confusion. He stilled their murmurs with an assurance that he would do much more good to the country than could ever be expected from the parliament; and made so many professions of patriotic feeling, that they resolved to wait the course of events rather than come to a downright quarrel with him before his intentions could be fully known. Colonel Okey, however, suspecting that the end would be bad, as the means were so hypocritical, asked Desborough what could be passing in the mind of Cromwell when he praised the parliament so highly to the council of officers, and yet proceeded almost immediately afterward to eject them with so much scorn and contempt? The other replied, "That if ever the general drolled in his life, he had drolled then;" that is, he had resolved to amuse his brethren in arms until his plans should be rightly digested and fully matured.

In the afternoon of the day on which he had dispersed the Commons, Cromwell proceeded to the council of state, accompanied by Lambert and Harrison. The members had met at the usual place, and were employed in transacting business as if nothing remarkable had occurred. At his entrance the general said, "Gentlemen, if you are met here as private persons, you shall not be disturbed, but if as a council of state, this is no place for you; and since you cannot but know what was done at the House in the morning, so take notice that the parliament is dissolved." To this Bradshaw, who appears to have been president, made answer, "Sir, we have heard what you did at the House in the morning, and before many hours all England will hear it; but, sir, you are mistaken to think that the parliament is dissolved, for no power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves, therefore take you notice of that." Something more was said to

the same purpose by Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Mr. Love, and Mr. Scot; after which, the council perceiving that they were under violence, consented to withdraw.

In the month of the following July, at the meeting of his new parliament, Cromwell took occasion to explain the grounds of his conduct on the 20th of April. His speech is very long and intricate, but an attentive reader may discover that his principal charges against the House which he had dissolved rested on two points; namely, their unwillingness to separate all at once, and their desire to admit, by successive elections, a number of the more moderate Presbyterians. To consent to a complete dissolution was, said they, to leave the country for several weeks entirely without a government, because the council of state, which was nominated by the House, must have ceased to exist the very moment that the parliament divested themselves of power. For this reason they urged the necessity of retaining the old members as a part of the future representative, and of allowing them to hold their seats, at least until the elections should have taken place in the different counties and boroughs to which writs were to be addressed.

Cromwell saw in this plan the defeat of his dearest hopes; and his fears were increased when he found that it was further intended to open the gates of the House to those who had formerly been expelled for their moderation, and who were now known by the appellation of *neuters*. This denomination included many of the Presbyterian interest who had not consented to the death of the king, nor co-operated with the army in any of those violent measures by means of which that catastrophe was accomplished. To admit that class of men into the House was, the general well knew, to resign the power of the sword, and to consent that he and his officers should retire into private life, on a diminished pay, and stripped

of the commanding influence which they had exercised since the period of the Self-denying Ordinance. "We were bold to tell them that none of that judgment—the Presbyterian—who had deserted this cause and interest, should have any power therein. We did think we should profess it, we had as good deliver up our cause into the hands of any, as into the hands of such as had deserted us or were as neuters; for it is one thing to love a brother, to bear with and love another in matters of religion, and another thing to have anybody so far set in the saddle as to command all the rest of his brethren up against him."

In short, it is manifest that Cromwell and his military council had discovered that the "statesmen," as they were called in contradistinction to the army, were fast becoming adepts in that shrewd policy of which they themselves had supplied so many examples. Had the bill for dissolution passed and the elective franchise been restored to full operation throughout the kingdom, the general could not have opposed the scheme of his adversaries without rousing the indignation of the people, and subjecting himself to the charge of attacking their liberties. By interposing his authority at the moment which he selected, he limited the dispute to a body of men who, on various accounts, had ceased to be popular and thereby exemplified once more his great political wisdom, or his uncommonly good fortune.

Thus fell the celebrated parliament which conducted with so much ability the arduous struggle of the civil war; maintained the honour of their country abroad; and, by their victories at sea, paved the way for the transcendent power and fame to which Cromwell afterward attained. In the course of twelve years, indeed, they had attacked as well as defended the liberties of their countrymen; for it cannot be denied that, while advocating the abstract principles of freedom, they not unfrequently sanctioned mea-

sures quite inconsistent with the practical enjoyment of civil rights. Among them were a few patriots who really loved their native land, and consulted to the best of their ability for its highest interests, both during the hot contentions which accompanied the war, and also in the settlement of the government, when their enemies were compelled to lay down their arms. But there were others who forgot the commonwealth in the pursuit of their individual fortunes; and hence the suspicion which justly attached to the latter class had been so generally extended to the whole, that when they were turned out by the bayonets of Cromwell, no voice was heard either to pity or condole. The members of the Long Parliament were seen skulking to their houses as if their exertions in the public cause had never excited either hope or fear in the breast of an Englishman. They were even pursued by ridicule and contempt. Hardly were they concealed in their dwellings, when the army and navy addressed the lord-general, declaring that they would live or die, stand or fall, in support of his measures; while the fanatics in every part of the country, satisfied that the reign of the saints was about to commence, chanted hymns of triumph over their fall. They magnified the name of the Lord, who had broken the mighty and cast the proud down to the ground; they hailed the approach of the fifth monarchy, the kingdom of Christ, which they hoped was about to be established in the renovated commonwealth.*

* The following letter shows the feeling which prevailed in certain quarters. It is entitled "the Humble and Thankful Congratulation of some that fear the Lord in the county of Hereford, who are the smallest and unworthiest in the nation.

"After so many throes and pangs—severe contests between the powers of the world and the interest of Christ—we conceive the great and long-desired reformation is near the birth. We bless the God of heaven who hath called you forth and led you on, not only in the high places of the field, making you a terror to the enemy, but also (among those mighty ones whom God hath left) to the dissolving of the late parliament.

"O, my lord, what are you that you should be the instrument to trans-

Two days after he had dispersed the parliament, Cromwell and his officers issued a declaration, explaining to the public at large the motives which had prompted them to that proceeding. They spoke with much bitterness against the bill which had been on the point of passing into a law for the dissolution of parliament, and which they represented as an attempt to perpetuate the power of the nation in the hands of a few individuals, under pretence of giving to the people an opportunity of electing members for the vacant counties. They stated that it was their wish to devolve the supreme authority for a time upon persons of integrity and piety; but that having in vain tried every argument to induce the legislature to enter into their views, the army had at length found themselves under the necessity of executing the measures with a strong hand, and of dismissing that assembly.

late the nation from oppression to libertie, from the hands of corrupt persons to the saints! And who are we that we should live to see these days which our fathers longed to see, and reap the harvest of their hopes! To be lowe in our owne eyes, when God lifteth us, is a true testimonie of humility and uprightnesse. No action of service or honour ever swelled the bosom of Christ: him, we believe, you make your patterne.

"Let the high praises of God be in our mouths, and the generations to come tell of his wonders. Let the improvement of this opportunity be your care and our prayer, that you may follow the Lambe whithersoever he goeth, and we attend you with our persons, petitions, purses, lives, and all that is dear to us" Signed by thirteen "in the name of many more."

The expectations of the royalists were likewise excited, but, of course, towards a different object. An amusing ballad, published at the time, records the demise of the Rump in very appropriate language, and says among other things, the following opinion:

"Some think that Cromwell with Charles is agreed,
And say 'twere good policy if it were so,
Lest the Hollander, French, the Dane, and the Swede
Do bring him again whether he will or no.

"And now I would gladly conclude my song
With a prayer, as ballads are wont to do;
But yet I'll forbear, for I think ere 't be long,
We may have a king and a parliament too."

ELLIS'S *Original Letters*, 2d Series vol. iii. p. 368, 371.

On the last day of April a declaration appeared in the name of Cromwell alone, as captain-general of the forces giving notice that a council of state would be appointed, to watch over the peace and safety of the commonwealth, and to superintend the present management of public affairs. He appears to have reserved to himself the privilege of nominating the counsellors, whose number amounted to thirteen. Nine were selected from the military, to whom were added four civilians, Strictland, Pickering, Carew, and Moyer. A considerable difference of opinion had indeed prevailed as to the proper number of members of which this deliberative body should consist. Some proposed that it should be limited to ten; others, particularly Harrison, recommended seventy, after the model of the Jewish Sanhedrim; while a third party voted for thirteen, in imitation of Christ and his twelve apostles. This last number was adopted as equally scriptural and more convenient. Sir Henry Vane, even after the insults inflicted upon him on the 20th of April, is said to have been offered a seat in this select council; but he replied, that though the reign of the saints was begun, he would defer his share in it till he should go to heaven.*

At this period the whole power of England, and, we may add, of Scotland and Ireland, was in the hands of one man, who was, a few years before, a private citizen in an obscure country town. He had, by a formal array of judicial proceedings, taken away the life of the king; succeeded by other means in putting an end to the House of Lords; and more recently driven from their post, under dread of military execution, the representatives of the people, the sole remaining branch of the government. But, bold and ambitious as he was, he felt that the ground which he had occupied was not sufficiently firm to

* Thurlow, vol. i. p. 265.

support the edifice which he meant to erect upon it. The great majority of the nation was against him. The royalists, who looked on with satisfaction while he was employed in scattering their old enemies at Westminster, would not have consented to sacrifice the claims of Charles; the Presbyterians, whom he had declared he would not admit into the parliament, were decidedly hostile to his pretensions as the permanent head of the government; and the republican party in the army, the most formidable of all his opponents, were determined to turn their swords against him, should he presume to seat himself on the vacant throne.

Every consideration, therefore, connected with the perilous predicament in which he was now placed, induced him to temporize. We are accordingly informed that, a few days after he had effaced the civil authority, he sent for Major Salloway and Carew, to whom he complained of the great weight of affairs which had fallen upon him, in consequence of the measures which he had been compelled to adopt towards the parliament; affirming, that the thoughts of the awful consequences thereof made him tremble; and therefore desired them to free him from the temptation which might be laid before him; and for that purpose to go immediately to the chief-justice St. John, Mr. Selden, and some others, and endeavour to persuade them to draw up some instrument of government which might take the power out of his hands. To this Major Salloway replied, with great simplicity, "The way, sir, to free you from this temptation is for you not to look upon yourself to be under it, but to rest persuaded that the power of the nation is in the good people of England, as formerly it was." Cromwell, perceiving by this answer that he was better understood than he could have wished, fell upon another expedient before he would openly discover himself; appointing a meeting of the chief officers of the army

to be held at Whitehall, in order to consider what was fit to be done in this exigency.

In the mean time, however, he exercised the prerogative of an unlimited monarch. He proceeded to conclude a treaty with the Portuguese ambassador; he suspended or displaced four judges, and made two new appointments; he nominated new commissioners of the treasury and admiralty; and continued the monthly assessment of 120,000*l.* for an additional half-year. In these measures, it is true, he proceeded with the advice of his council of state, a body which he himself had formed, and who, consequently had no choice but to co-operate with him in all his plans.

It soon appeared expedient to the military junto that the great council of the nation should be again assembled in some form or other; it being impossible that the people of England could long submit to be governed by a dozen of general officers, who had scarcely had time to lay aside their harness. Cromwell at this epoch was more fervent than usual in his prayers and preaching; and, if we may believe the assertions of his friends, his earnestness was frequently rewarded by communications from the Holy Spirit.* It was at length resolved that the lord-general and his council of war, even without the concurrence of the council of state, should, of their own authority, nominate a parliament, consisting of men distinguished by holiness of life and piety of conversation. The ministers of the congregational churches in the several counties, whose assistance had been solicited, sent returns of persons "faithful, fearing God, and hating covetousness," who were deemed qualified for this high and important trust; and from these, without even the pretext of a public election, Cromwell and his officers chose about a hundred and fifty, to serve for certain places in the three kingdoms. To each

* Thurlow, vol. i. p. 256, 306; Lingard, vol. xi. p. 184

member thus appointed was sent a writ of summons under the signature of the general; requiring his personal attendance at Whitehall on a certain day, to take upon himself the office of a national representative.* Whatever might be the surprise of certain individuals when they received their commission, it is remarkable that only two refused to accept; the greater number regarding the unwonted mode of their election as a positive call from heaven.†

It was on the 4th July, 1653, that this famous par-

* The following is the form of the summons:—

"I, Oliver Cromwell, Captain General and Commander-in-chief of all the armies and forces raised, and to be raised, within this Commonwealth, do hereby summon and require you (being one of the persons nominated) personally to be and appear at the council-chamber at Whitehall, within the city of Westminster, upon the 4th day of July next ensuing the date hereof; then and there to take upon you the said trust, unto which you are hereby called, and appointed to serve as a member for the county of ——

"And hereof you are not to fail.

"Given under my hand and seal, the day of June, 1653.

"O. CROMWELL."

† Thurlow, vol. i. p. 274. The following letter is inserted as a specimen of the recommendation sent by the churches who selected the members of Barbone's Parliament:—

"Letter from the people of Bedfordshire, to the Lord General Cromwell, and the council of the army.

"May it please your lordship and the rest of the councell of the army,

"We (we trust) the servants of Jesus Christ, inhabitants in the county of Bedford, haveinge fresh upon our hearts the sad oppresions we have (alonge while) groaned under from the late parlyament, and now eyeing and owning (through grace) the good hand of God in this great turne of providence, being persuaded it is from the Lord that you should be instruments in his hand at such a time as this, for the electing of such persons whoe may go in and out before his people in righteousnesse, and governe these nations in judgment, we haveinge sought the Lord for you, and hopeing that God will still doe greate things by you, understanding that it is in your hearts (through the Lord's assistance) to establish an authority, consisting of men able loveing truth, fearing God, and hateing covetousness; and we haveing had some experience of men with us, we have judged it our duty to God, to you, and to the rest of his people, humbly to present two men, viz. Nathaniell Taylor and John Croke, now justices of peace in our county, whom we judge in the Lord qualified to manage a trust in the ensueing government. All which we humbly referre to your serious considerations, and subscribe our names, this 13th day of May, 1653"

liament assembled; on which occasion Cromwell addressed them in a long speech, consisting of scriptural commentary and ghostly admonition. "I confess," says he, "I never looked to see such a day as this,—it may be, nor you neither,—when Christ should be so owned as he is at this day, and in this work. God manifests it to be the day of the power of Christ, having through so much blood, and so much trial as hath been upon this nation, made a willing people; he makes this one of the greatest mercies, next to his own Son, to have his people called to the supreme authority. God hath owned his Son, and he hath owned you, and made you to own him. I confess I never looked to have seen such a day; I did not. Perhaps you are not known to one another's face; I am confident you are strangers, coming from all parts of the nation as you do; but we shall tell that indeed we have not allowed ourselves in the choice of one person in whom we had not this good hope, that there was faith in Jesus Christ, and love towards his people. Thus, God hath owned you in the eyes of the nation, and by coming hither you own him, as it is in Isaiah, xliii. 21—'*This people*,' saith God, '*I have formed for myself, that they may show forth my praise.*'" He adds, in words which will admit of a meaning by no means creditable to his audience, "I think it may be truly said that never was there a supreme authority consisting of such a body as you are."—"Own your call," he adds, "for it is of God. It is not long since this was known to you or us; and, indeed, it hath been the way God hath dealt with us all along, to keep things from our eyes that we have seen nothing in all his dispensations long beforehand, which is also a witness, in some degree, of our integrity.—I say you are called with a high calling, and why should we be afraid to say or think that this may be the door to usher in the things which God hath promised

and have been prophesied of, and which he hath set the hearts of his people to wait for and expect! We know who they are that shall war with the Lamb against his enemies; they shall be a people *called and chosen*, and faithful; and God hath in a military way appeared with them, and for them, and now in these civil powers and authorities; and these are not ill prognostications of the good we hope for. Indeed, I do think somewhat is at the door; we are at the threshold, and therefore it becomes us to lift up our hands, and to encourage ourselves in the Lord. Surely you are called by God to rule with him and for him; and you are called to be faithful with the saints, who have been somewhat instrumental to your call."

The above speech is said, by the earliest biographer of Cromwell, to have been pronounced in so excellent a manner as to manifest beyond all doubt that the spirit of God was upon him. The address being ended, he delivered to them an instrument, engrossed on parchment, and bearing his seal and signature, by which, with the advice of his council of officers, he devolved and intrusted the supreme authority and government of the commonwealth into the hands of the persons there met, and declared that they were to be acknowledged for that authority, to whom all persons within this nation were to yield obedience and subjection: that they were to sit till the 3d day of November, 1654; and that three months before that time, they were to make choice of other persons to succeed them, who were not to sit longer than twelve months, and were then to determine respecting the succession of the government.*

The day succeeding this inauguration was consecrated by the new members to prayer and other religious duties. Thirteen of the most gifted of

* Whitelock, Leicester's Journal, p. 146

their number conducted their devotions, and preached from eight in the morning till six in the evening; and several affirmed, that "they had never enjoyed so much of the spirit and presence of Christ in any of the meetings and exercises of religion in all their lives, as they did on that day."

But it soon appeared that Cromwell and his chosen saints had mistaken each other's character. The general had intended nothing more than to govern the nation through these pious instruments, and to use them only as a larger and more popular council than either of the two which he had already formed. But Barbone and his associates no sooner found themselves in possession of power, than they resolved to make such a thorough reformation in every department of the state, as alarmed their master as well as his armed colleagues; who now began to apprehend in earnest that the elect were about to govern the earth. They intended to abolish the Court of Chancery, to repeal all the old laws, and to compile a new system of statutes, which every Englishman might read and understand. It was said that they meant to make the law of Moses the basis and model of their improved code. In like manner, they attacked the few remaining outworks of the church establishment, particularly tithes, and the right of patronage or advowsons, but finding in the Old Testament some authority for paying the clergy from the fruits of the soil, they hesitated as to the change which was recommended to their adoption by those who thought that religion might be more suitably supported from a different revenue.

In short, the innovations which they contemplated were of so sweeping a nature, that the more sober part of the community saw reason to fear the approach of a revolution, which would strike deeper into the constitutional principles of the kingdom than the conquest either of the Danes or the Normans

The Anabaptists, in particular, who constituted the majority of the members, were less actuated by any regard to earthly things than by the expectation of the Millennium, the reign of Christ upon earth, for whose approach they believed that they had been selected by God to prepare the way. Harrison, and some other enthusiasts, headed this party, and greatly perplexed the lord-general; who once more, notwithstanding all his art, found his chosen instruments converted into the most deadly weapons, and which required only an able hand to turn successfully against his life and power. The followers of Feakes and Powell, two eloquent preachers among the Anabaptists, had already discovered that Cromwell was the man of sin, the old dragon, and the beast foretold in the Revelation; and, moreover, that the great object of his government was to oppose the kingdom of Christ, and to support the interests of the pope, and of all the other sinful powers, whose doom depended upon the rise of the fifth monarchy, so long promised to the faithful.

It was therefore resolved in the military council, that these troublesome legislators, whose "call was of God," and every one of whom had "faith in Jesus Christ and love to the people," should be sent back to their respective parishes. Cromwell found that he had done wrong in devolving the supreme power even on those whom he had informed that they were "called by God to rule with him and for him." He therefore instructed one of his officers to move in the House that the members should forthwith repair to Whitehall, and give back their authority into the hands of him from whom they had received it. The Speaker immediately left the chair, and the Independents, to the number of fifty, followed him in a body. The reformers, who did not amount to thirty, were paralyzed by this sudden movement, and threw

themselves on their knees to pray. While they were so employed two colonels entered and desired them to withdraw. They asked for their warrant; upon which they called in a company of soldiers, whom they ordered to clear the House, and take possession of the keys.

The occurrence now described reflects little credit on the sincerity of Cromwell. He had ever been a great advocate for reforming the law and the church, particularly in the article of tithes; and in his various declamations against the manifold corruptions which prevailed in the nation he never omitted the expense and delay of legal proceedings, and the necessity of a speedy alteration in the forms of process. But no sooner did the Little Parliament enter upon these delicate subjects, than he roused the suspicions of the clergy and lawyers, and turned their resentment against the proposed innovations of the legislature. He even circulated calumnies in regard to the motives of the leading members; insinuating it as one of their doctrines, that liberty and property were not badges of the kingdom of Christ; and averring, that if their wild schemes were not checked, the laws of the land would be subverted, freedom would be destroyed, and the gospel ministry entirely abolished.

So far, however, did he carry his dissimulation, that when the Speaker and his adherents arrived at Whitehall to resign their power, and had actually drawn up a form of demission, he showed the utmost reluctance to comply with their wishes. Nay, in a speech to the following parliament, he protested, that so far from having any hand in the measure, he was an absolute stranger to the design till the greater number of the members came to him and delivered the instrument of their resignation into his hands. "I have," says he, "appealed to God before you already; I know that it is a tender thing to make

appeals to God." Cromwell had now, in short, lost all sense of honour in political transactions, and made no scruple of sanctioning, by the most solemn protestations, the most notorious falsehoods. Will any man believe, that a company of musketeers could be marched into the parliament-house, and the remaining members turned out, without the knowledge of the commander-in-chief?*

The government of the country was again in the hands of the general and his officers. But as a proof that this event had been anticipated, it is worthy of remark that every thing was arranged for his elevation to an office which conferred upon him all that his ambition longed for, except the name of king. It was on the 12th of December that his intrigues prevailed in breaking up the parliament, and on the 16th of the same month he was solemnly installed as Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. This ceremony took place in Westminster Hall about one o'clock in the afternoon, at which hour he proceeded from the palace in his coach, attended by several thousand soldiers, who lined the streets and occupied the public buildings. His retinue was graced by the lords commissioners of the great seal, the judges, and the council of state, while his carriage was surrounded by a life-guard, and many of the chief officers of the army splendidly attired. The general himself was dressed in a suit of black velvet. A chair of state with a rich carpet and cushions had been prepared. The persons officiating arranged themselves on the right and left of the principal figure; a commissioner of the great seal at each hand, the judges on both sides, the lord-mayor and aldermen on the right, and the members of the council on the left.

* Godwin, vol. iii. p. 590; Parliamentary History, vol. xx. p. 385

After the Institute of Government was read, which occupied about half an hour, Lisle, one of the keepers of the seal, administered an oath to the Protector, who continued to stand uncovered; but no sooner had he signed this obligation than he was invited to take possession of the chair; which he did, at the same time putting on his hat, the rest remaining bare-headed as before. The lords-commissioners delivered up to his highness the purse and the seals, and the lord-mayor of London his sword, which were presently returned to them by the Protector. When he reached Whitehall, he went with his attendants to the banqueting-house, where they heard an exhortation made by Lockier, chaplain to his highness: an observance which, as the introduction to a military government, was concluded by the appropriate ceremony of three volleys discharged by the regiments in attendance.

The title of the instrument by which this new authority was established, was the "Government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging;" and the substance of it was, that the supreme legislative authority should be vested in one person, and in the Commons in parliament assembled; that the Protector should be assisted by a council, consisting of not fewer than thirteen or of more than twenty-one persons: that all writs, commissions, and grants should run in his name; and that from him should be derived all magistracy and honours; that he should have the command of the forces both by sea and land, and with his council should have the power of war and peace; that no law should be suspended, altered, or repealed without the consent of parliament; and that a parliament should be summoned every third year. It was directed, however, that, till the meeting of the first triennial parliament, in September, 1654, the Protector and council should

have power to raise money for the public defence, and to make such laws and ordinances as the welfare of the nation might require. It was likewise provided, that all bills passed by the parliament should be presented to the Lord Protector for his assent, and that if he did not grant it within twenty days, the bills should then become law notwithstanding. Each parliament was to sit five months; and if an intermediate parliament was called by the Lord Protector it was not to be prorogued nor dissolved within three months, unless with its own consent. It was fixed that every person possessing an estate in lands or goods to the value of two hundred pounds annually should have a vote at the election of members of parliament, except such as had been concerned in the war against the parliament, or in the rebellion in Ireland. It was ordered that the keeper of the seal, the treasurer, the admiral, the chief justices of the two benches, and the chief governors of Scotland and Ireland, should be nominated by parliament, and in the intervals of parliament by the Protector and council. It was determined, that as soon as might be a provision should be made for the maintenance of the clergy, more certain and less contentious than the way of tithes; and that no person should be compelled to conform to the established church, nor be any way restrained in the profession and exercise of his religion, except the adherents of popery and prelacy. It was agreed that Oliver Cromwell should be declared Lord Protector for life and that in case of his demise, the council of state should assemble, to the number of not fewer than thirteen, and immediately elect his successor.*

In forming an estimate of the motives which induced Cromwell to dissolve the Long Parliament, it ought not to be forgotten that he himself immediately

* Cromwelliana, p. 130.

nterward acted upon the very principles which he loudly condemned in the leaders of that celebrated assembly. Vane and his friends maintained that the country was not yet sufficiently settled to be entrusted with the irritating duty of a general election; and, therefore, it was necessary that a certain number of the old members should remain, not only for the purpose of conducting the government in the meantime, but also for instructing, in the forms of business, the new representatives who might be returned. For the same reason, it was provided by the bill which was about to be passed when the grena diers entered the House, that there should not at any future period be a complete dissolution of the Commons, but that only a part of the members at one time should be returned to their constituents. It is remarkable, that in constituting this first parliament, he proceeded on the very ground now explained, and obviously for the same considerations; a proof, if any were wanted, that his anger was kindled against the Rump, not for their practical errors in the conduct of affairs, but for showing too much political wisdom, and for arranging a scheme of government which would soon have deprived the army of the dangerous power which had fallen into their hands.

Barbone's parliament, in like manner, was dismissed for being too honest. There were in it, no doubt, several hot-headed fools who aimed at impracticable improvements, and laboured to bring the English people to a condition of simplicity and innocence which has never been attained in the social state. But, with few exceptions—the "trepanners and spies" whom Cromwell had introduced—they had the good of their country at heart, and would have forced on some changes, which, by reducing the army, must have precluded the despotism on which the council of officers meant to establish their power. Finding, too, that they were disposed

to assert a degree of independence which he never intended they should possess, the general joined in the calumnies with which they were assailed; increased the ridicule which was directed against their proceedings; and, finally, by creating a schism in their body, drew over the venal and ambitious to his own ranks, and exposed the honest fanatics to everlasting contempt. By these means, however, he attained the rank and authority which were conferred upon him on the 16th of December, 1653; when he found himself in the possession of a more ample treasury, a finer navy, and more numerous land forces, than had ever supported the throne of England, or commanded the respect of foreign states.

CHAPTER IV.

From the Accession of Cromwell to the Protectorate, to his Death in September, 1658.

It has been asserted, that in the Institute of Government under which Oliver assumed the supreme power, the title of king was originally engrossed, and that it was only in compliance with the scruples of certain individuals whose ambition had not yet been gratified, that the word Protector was afterward substituted. But the appellation in such cases is a mere sound; and Cromwell had determined to exercise the full rights of sovereignty, in the civil as well as in the military department. As is usual on the accession of an hereditary monarch, he issued new patents to the judges, and commissions to the principal officers of the army; obtaining, at the same time, a statute declaring it high treason to compass

or imagine any violence to the person or government of the Lord Protector, or to revive the claims and title of Charles Stuart.

He accepted, on the same occasion, the congratulations of foreign princes, through the medium of their ambassadors; whom he received at his palace with all the form and etiquette of the most ancient court. He had removed with his family to the apartments formerly occupied by the king, which were newly furnished in the most costly and magnificent style; and in the banqueting room was placed a chair of state on a platform raised a few steps above the floor. Here the Protector stood to receive the ambassadors. These functionaries were instructed to make three reverences; one at the entrance, the second as they advanced up the room, and the third at the lower step of the elevation on which the protectoral throne was erected,—to each of which his lordship answered by a slight inclination of the head. When they had delivered their speeches and heard the reply of his highness, they retired, observing the same ceremonial with which they had entered.

But Cromwell felt that, by ministering to his own ambition, he had lost the confidence of his first and most ardent friends. The republican party now became his bitterest enemies. He had deceived them in the tenderest point, while he employed them as instruments for accomplishing his personal views, at every stage of his advancement. Some of the more violent preachers did not hesitate to denounce him from the pulpit as a "dissembling, perjured villain, and to threaten him with a worse fate than had befallen the last tyrant." To check such freedoms, he threw several individuals into prison, and committed to the Tower that long subservient and unscrupulous partisan—Major General Harrison. Alarmed with menaces of assassination, too, he let

loose his fury against the royalists, whom he charged with the intention of putting him to death. He hanged Vowell, a wrongheaded schoolmaster, and condemned to the punishment of a traitor a young man named Gerard, who declared with his dying breath that he had never given his consent to any plan of murder.

It required no small management to satisfy his republican friends that his intentions were still sincere and honest. The rise which he had already made looked like a step to kingship, which John Goodwin had long represented as the "great Antichrist that hindered Christ from being set on the throne." To these he declared with tears, that he would rather have taken a shepherd's staff than the protectorship, since nothing was more contrary to his genius than a show of greatness; but he saw it was necessary at that time to keep the nation from falling into extreme disorder, and from becoming open to the common enemy; and, therefore, he only stepped in between the living and the dead, till God should direct them on what bottom they ought to settle: and he assured them, that then he would surrender the heavy load lying upon him, with a joy equal to the sorrow with which he was affected while under that show of dignity.*

Some of the chief officers on the Irish establishment resigned their commissions, and others expressed their dissatisfaction in the strongest terms at the assumption of arbitrary power, and the destruction of their favourite commonwealth. The majority, however, of the army stood faithful to his interests; amd by mixing favours with moderate coercion, he gained many of the less stern republicans; who, on reflection, were less offended to see on the throne a man of the people, than a member

* Burnet's Own Times, vol. i. p. 104.

of the detested house of Stuart. Even the zealots began to think that Cromwell was not, even as an enemy of the saints and of their expected kingdom, so much to be dreaded as a prince who claimed the sceptre as his personal right, and who had never exhibited any signs of grace.

It belongs to the general historian, rather than to the biographer of Cromwell, to relate the foreign wars and treaties which engaged the attention of parliament during the existence of the commonwealth. The triumphs of the English flag at sea shed a glory on the administration of the republicans which no subsequent events, brilliant as they may have been, have altogether eclipsed. The Dutch, after a gallant and protracted struggle, were compelled to acknowledge the superiority of their insular neighbours, on that element, too, whence they had derived at once their wealth and their fame; and about the period when Oliver assumed the protectoral sceptre, the United Provinces were disposed to sue for peace on terms very favourable to their maritime rivals. It has always been asserted that, instead of securing for his country the commercial advantages which he was entitled to demand, he sacrificed the victories of Blake to an impatience for peace, or to the furtherance of his own views against the Stuarts and the house of Orange.

From the conditions of the peace which Cromwell signed, and which were universally regarded as much inferior to those which the country had a right to ask, it has been inferred by an able historian, that the war with the States General must have been originally impolitic.* This remark shows, at least, that a feeling of disappointment had spread over the land, in regard to the inadequate result of the splendid triumphs gained by the naval commanders; and moreover, that there was some ground

* Hume, vol. vii. p. 276

for the suspicion, that, as better terms had been offered to the Parliament and rejected, the Protector must have had other objects to promote than the commercial interests and reputation of the commonwealth.*

The termination of war, however, is at all times so grateful to the domestic and literary habits of every people, that all inquiries as to the policy of the peace were for a while superseded by the rejoicings to which it gave rise. The muses celebrated the wise moderation of the Protector; the universities sent up poems and addresses; and the city of London gave a dinner to the renowned chief who had offered and accepted the olive-branch. The fanatics alone were unanimous in denouncing the peace. They had looked towards Holland as a convenient rendezvous for the faithful in England, where they might debark their spiritual hosts on a projected expedition to pull the Scarlet Lady of the Seven Hills from her seat, and to erect the standard of the saints in the city of Rome. They had insisted, therefore, upon having certain of the Dutch provinces united to Great Britain, either by treaty or by conquest; and it was upon discovering that Cromwell did not enter into this pious speculation, that they laboured to expose his real character as the apocalyptic beast and man of sin.

It was on Ash-Wednesday, the general fast of Christendom, that the Lord Protector accepted the civic entertainment. Attended by his council, the principal officers of the army, and many persons of quality, he paraded in the midst of his life-guards from Whitehall to Temple-bar. Here the lord-mayor and aldermen were waiting for him; when the former, advancing to his coach, presented the city sword. This being returned, the recorder, in an inflated speech, pronounced the compliments

* Hume, vol. vii. p. 276.

which are usually paid to sovereigns. After this ceremony, Oliver mounted a charger splendidly caparisoned, and rode as if in triumph through the principal streets. Several branches of the corporation, arrayed in their official robes, had taken their places on scaffolds erected on each side for the purpose; and the lord-mayor, carrying the sword of state before his guest, led the way to Grocer's Hall, where a magnificent banquet was provided. After dinner, the usurper thought proper to exercise a part of the royal prerogative; he knighted the lord-mayor, and made him a present of his sword.

Ludlow observes, that this exhibition was contrived to let the world see how good an understanding prevailed between the Protector and the capital; but that among discerning men it had a contrary effect. They perceived it to be an act of force rather than of choice. This appeared in the great silence and little respect that was given him in his passage through the streets, although he, to invite such respect, rode bareheaded the greatest part of the way. Some of his creatures had placed themselves at the entrance of Cheapside, and began to shout; yet it took not at all with the people.

A parliament, summoned by Cromwell, according to the terms of the Institute of Government, met on the 3d of September, his fated day. As, however, in the year 1654 it happened to fall on a Sunday, he proceeded no further than to invite the members to hear sermon the following morning in the abbey church. After divine service they attended him in the Painted Chamber, where he pronounced a long harangue, vindicating the measures which he had lately pursued, and ascribing his own elevation, not to any design or wish ever entertained by him in secret, but to the good purpose and overruling hand of God. He expressed much indignation against republicans of every denomination, whom

he described as enemies of Heaven and of human peace. He entreated the members to assist him in settling the civil and ecclesiastical constitution on a firm basis; and concluded his speech with an expression of self-denial which could not but be regarded as an insolent affectation of a superiority to which they had not yet admitted his claim. "I desire you to believe," said he, "that I speak not to you as one that would be lord over you, but as one that is resolved to be a fellow-servant with you to the interest of this great affair."*

But the character and motives of Cromwell were now too well understood to deceive even the most simple. No sooner, accordingly, had the House met and chosen a Speaker, than they proceeded to an examination of the instrument by which the Protector held his power;—an inquiry which involved the important question, whether the representatives of the people should consent to have the government vested in "a single person and a parliament." In the course of the debate, one member said "that as God had made him instrumental in cutting down tyranny in one individual, so could he not endure to see the liberties of the nation shackled by another, whose right to the government could not be measured otherwise than by the length of his sword, which alone had imboldened him to command his commanders." Another member applied to Oli-

* The humility which he affected in language formed a striking contrast with the ostentation which distinguished his actions. In his movements from Whitehall to Westminster, and from thence to the Painted Chamber, he was attended as follows;

In the first of the procession, were some hundreds of gentlemen, with the life-guards; next immediately after his coach, his pages and lackeys, richly dressed; on the right of the coach, Morland, one of his council and captain of his guards, with the master of the ceremonies, both on foot; on the left, Captain Howard of the life-guards; in the coach with him were his son Henry and Lambert, both bareheaded; after the coach rode Claypole, master of the horse, with a charger richly decked; next the commissioners of the great seal and of the treasury, divers of the council in coaches and the ordinary guard.—*Parl. Hist* vol. xx. p 316

ver the words of the prophet to Ahab, "Hast thou killed and also taken possession?"

Upon the question being put, whether the House should resolve itself into a committee, to determine whether or not the government should be in a single person and successive parliaments, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of five voices. Alarmed at this beginning, and finding the foundation of his power shaking under his feet, Cromwell seized one of the leaders, and ordered at the same time three regiments to march into the city with directions to occupy the principal posts. He next commanded the attendance of the members in the Painted Chamber, where he reasoned and remonstrated with them on their bold undertakings. He told them that the office which he held was not of his seeking; that imperious circumstances had imposed it upon him; but that, as his calling was from God and his testimony from the people—alluding to the addresses and entertainments which he had received—so he had resolved that none except God and the people should ever deprive him of his appointment. He reminded them that in the new government there were certain things fundamental, and not to be questioned or disturbed even by the legislature; and among these the principal was, that the supreme power should be vested in a single person and successive parliaments. He told them plainly that he would not permit them to sit if they did not acknowledge the authority by which they had been assembled. For this purpose he had prepared a recognition, which he would require them to sign. Those who refused should be excluded; the rest would find admission, and might exercise their legislative power without control.

Upon their return to the House, the members found a guard of soldiers at the door, and the Recognition mentioned by the Protector lying on a table in the lobby, for their signature. The speaker, Lenthal, set the example of obedience; binding

himself neither to propose nor consent to alter the government as it was then settled in a single person and parliament. In the course of a few days, about three hundred added their names; the remainder, amounting to a hundred and sixty, resolutely refused so mean an act of compliance with a tyranny so undisguised.

A few days after this victory, Cromwell nearly lost his life by an accident. Having got a present of six coach horses from the Duke of Oldenburgh, he resolved one evening, after dining with Thurlow, to try the docility of the animals in a drive through the Park. He put the secretary into the vehicle, while he himself mounted the box; but being unaccustomed to six-in-hand, he allowed the cattle to prove his masters, and precipitate him among their feet. He hung for a time suspended by the pole, exposed to the utmost hazard, as the horses had increased their speed to a furious gallop. But his good fortune did not yet desert him; he fell to the ground between the wheels, and escaped with a slight bruise. Thurlow, who leaped from the door of the coach, was more injured than his master. A pistol which went off in the Protector's pocket during his fall, increased his danger, and betrayed the apprehensions which he had already begun to entertain.

The parliament, although in some degree purged by the operation to which Cromwell had subjected it on the 12th of September, did not yet exhibit the subserviency which he had hoped to find in it. His friends in the House endeavoured to carry a vote, declaring the Protectorate hereditary in his family; but, far from succeeding, they had the mortification to find the motion so ill received, as to be rejected by a majority of two hundred and eighty. The remainder of the session was distinguished by a similar spirit. The opposition, led by Bradshaw, Hazlerig, and Scott, reviewed every article of the instrument of government with the most suspicious minuteness,

and had even drawn up some proposed amendments in the form of a bill. But Cromwell, who watched their motions, had determined that it should not pass. On the 22d of January, he summoned the House to meet him in the Painted Chamber, where, with a mixture of displeasure and contempt, he upbraided them with their inefficiency, and finally dissolved them. By their dissensions, he told them, they had aided the fanatics to throw the nation into confusion; and by the slowness of their proceedings, had compelled the soldiers to live at free quarters on the country. They supposed, he added, that he wished to make the office he held hereditary in his family. It was not true; on the contrary, had they inserted such a provision in the instrument, he would have rejected it. He spoke in the fear of the Lord, who would not be mocked, and with the satisfaction that his conscience did not belie his assertion. But that he might trouble them no longer, it was his duty to tell them, that their continuance was not for the benefit of the nation, and therefore he did then and there declare that the parliament was dissolved.*

This determined stroke of policy took the republicans by surprise. The instrument provided that every parliament should sit five months, a period which did not elapse until the 3d of February. But Cromwell chose not to allow more than twenty eight days to the month; alleging, as an authority for such a calculation, the practice of the army and navy, whose pay was always rated according to the month which consists of only four weeks. The members, although perfectly satisfied that the trick would not bear examination, were not ignorant, at the same time, that the city was full of troops; and remembering that Harrison had been sent to the Tower for giving countenance to a petition which

* Whitelock, pp. 610, 618. Journals, January 19, 20, 22. Lingard, vol. xi. p. 245.

was disagreeable to the Protector, they conceded the accuracy of the new calendar, and vacated their seats.

Cromwell had now been long enough at the head of affairs to be convinced that he had not consulted either for peace or reputation when he resolved to seize the reins of supreme authority. Nor was the opposition which he had to encounter in parliament, either the most vexatious, or the most formidable against which he had to strive. He felt that he was everywhere surrounded by secret enemies, whose plots it might not be always possible for him to discover, and whose strength he might not long be able to resist. The republicans on the one hand, and the royalists, on the other, were banded against his life, and avowed themselves the irreconcilable enemies of his government. The former, who were the most deeply disappointed and enraged, lent an ear to every plan of assassination and rebellion. Even the army had become dissatisfied and ready for revolt. Several colonels, including Wildman, Alured, and Overton, had allowed their fidelity to be corrupted, and to take a share in those counsels which were meant to restore the commonwealth to its original vigour. But the vigilance of Cromwell, stimulated by his fears, was never at fault. He had spies in every regiment, and almost in every house, in the tents of his own officers, and in the bed-chamber of Charles the Second at Cologne and at Paris; by such means, in the organization of which he appears to have spent his days and nights, he could suppress mutiny when on the eve of breaking out, and remove faithless commanders at the very moment when they were about to draw their swords against him. Wildman, for example, was surprised in the very act of dictating to his secretary a most violent declaration of which the object was to seduce the minds of the soldiery, and to sap the foundations of the protectoral government

The royalists, who placed less value on prudence, than on a thoughtless and desperate valour, constantly exposed themselves to the emissaries of Cromwell. Manning, one of their own number, who had attached himself to the family of the exiled king, made known all the proposals which were addressed to the royal ear by adventurers of every description; and, as always happens in such cases, to increase the importance of his services, he magnified the number of plots which were said to have been conceived for overturning the new monarchy of England.

There is no doubt, however, that about the period in question, a resolution was formed to take advantage of the dislike into which the Protector had fallen, with the view of giving to the friends of Charles an opportunity of appearing in the field in his behalf. A day about the middle of April, 1655, was fixed for a general rising in several counties in the north and west. The Earl of Rochester and Sir Joseph Wagstaff came over from the Continent to head the insurgents; and the king is said to have removed to a neighbouring seaport on the Dutch coast, that he might be in readiness to pass into England, should the course of events encourage him to try once more the fortune of war.

But the activity of Cromwell, and the omnipres ence of his agents, defeated this premature step to restore the Stuarts. About two hundred and fifty horsemen under Penruddock, Groves, and Jones attended by a few gentlemen of the west, entered Salisbury while the judges were holding the assizes. To impress the people with a notion of their vigour an order was given to hang these peaceful civilians, together with the sheriff, who had joined them in his professional capacity. This disgraceful resolution was abandoned at the instance of certain cavaliers who resided in the neighbourhood, and who insisted that the cause of the king should not be dishonoured by an action at once so cruel and unjust

But the insurrection proved fruitless as to the main object, and fatal to the individuals who were engaged in it. Fatigued with constant marching, and disappointed everywhere of the promised aid which had induced them to take up arms, they at length yielded to a single troop of cavalry, on the sole condition that their lives should be preserved.

Determined to set an example of severity, Cromwell gave orders that the prisoners should be brought to trial. Penruddock and Groves were beheaded at Exeter, several others were hanged, and the remainder were sent to Barbadoes to be sold for slaves.* Not satisfied with the punishment of the individuals taken in arms, the Protector issued a declaration, prohibiting all sequestered clergymen of the Church of England from acting as school masters or tutors, and from preaching or using the liturgy as ministers either in public or in private; commanding all Roman Catholic priests to quit the kingdom under pain of death; banishing all cavaliers and Catholic laymen twenty miles from the capital; and forbidding the publication in print of any news or intelligence whatever, without permission from the secretary of state.

To secure himself still farther from any attempt similar to that which he had just suppressed, he placed under restraint most of the nobility and principal gentry of England, till they could produce bail for their good behaviour, and future appearance whenever he might be pleased to call them. For the same purpose, he resolved to diminish their resources, by extorting a portion of their yearly income. In defiance of the Act of Oblivion, for which he declaimed with so much vehemence in the last days of the Long Parliament, he published an ordinance, stating that all who had ever borne arms for

* State Trials, vol. v. p. 767; Burton's Diary, vol. iv. p. 258. See Note F, at end of this volume.

the king, or declared themselves to be of the royal party, should be decimated; that is, pay a tenth part of all the estate they had left, to support the charge to which the commonwealth was put by the unquietness of their temper, and the cause of jealousy which they had ministered.

The next step was to divide the whole kingdom into a certain number of military governments, placed under the command of a corresponding number of officers with the rank of major-general; whose duty it should be to raise a militia force within their respective jurisdictions, to be ready whensoever the exigences of state should require their services; to levy the public taxes, including the decimation inflicted on the royalists; to suppress all tumults and insurrections, to disarm all Catholics and cavaliers; to inquire into the conduct of ministers and schoolmasters; and to arrest, imprison, and bind over all dangerous and suspected persons, without the power of appealing to any but the Protector himself and his council.

Beyond this it was hardly possible to go, in imitating the practice of the most despotic governments. Not only was the supreme authority usurped and held by illegal force, but the people were now parcelled out into so many subdivisions of slavery, over whom he had delegated to his inferior ministers the same unlimited power which he himself thought fit to exercise. The sanguinary struggle of the civil war, in which so many lives were lost, and so much suffering endured; and which, during ten years, had burst the bonds of domestic concord in half the families of England, ended, as we have seen, in a military despotism; where laws were dictated at the point of the sword; bills interrupted in their progress through parliament by companies of armed soldiers; property confiscated by an order of the general; taxes imposed, and collected by officers at the head of their troops; and ministers, school-

masters, and tutors expelled from their employment, at the instance of commissioners surrounded by fixed bayonets. Even Cromwell had ceased to cant about liberty; he compared himself to a constable in a mob, who was bound at all hazards to suppress riots, and to keep the peace.

The success of the republican government at sea, favoured by other circumstances, had thrown into the hands of England the balance of power; and hence, France and Spain, exhausted by long wars and intestine commotions, vied with each other in their attentions to the Protector, and in their endeavours to secure his favour. The Spanish ambassador even proceeded so far as to promise the countenance of his master, should Oliver think it expedient to place himself on the throne; and held out other inducements of a more substantial nature, in order to gain the friendship of the fortunate soldier who had fleets and armies at his command. Cromwell, who knew the value of his alliance, negotiated with both parties, without committing himself to either. He fitted out in his ports a powerful armament, consisting of a hundred ships of various sizes, and calculated to take on board a large body of troops; and when he was asked by the envoys of foreign states what migh tbe the object of such extensive preparations, he satisfied himself with giving an evasive answer, or by observing an obstinate silence.

It appeared, in the end, that his real intentions were to attack the Spanish settlements in America: and with this view he sent out a large force under Penn and Venables, to reduce certain islands in the West Indies, and afterward to make a descent on the adjoining continent. The expedition failed in its main objects. Before St. Domingo, the English soldiers and sailors were destroyed by the climate, or by the fury of the natives, who concealed themselves in woods, where they could not be pursued

by European troops. Foiled in their attempt on Hispaniola, the commanders directed their course to Jamaica, which was surrendered to them without a blow, or, more properly, was taken by surprise: but so little was the importance of that island at this time understood, that, so far from being esteemed a compensation for the losses sustained in other quarters, the general and admiral, on their return home, were, by the command of the Protector, thrown into the Tower.

Cromwell was more successful in an enterprise, conducted by Blake, against the treasure-ships of the Spaniards on their passage to Europe. A quantity of silver, ostentatiously displayed, proved, in the eyes of the unreflecting multitude, a sufficient indemnification for the sacrifices which were made on the shores of America; and the people at large were willing to forget, amid the triumphs of their favourite admiral in the Mediterranean and Atlantic, the disappointments attending the more distant expedition, under Penn and Venables.

The Spanish government, who, with much reason, complained of the infraction of a positive treaty, declared war against England, and seized all the ships and goods belonging to the subjects of that country wherever they were to be found. A valuable commerce was thereby destroyed to the merchants of both nations, and the capture of fifteen hundred vessels employed by the English in carrying it on, made the impolicy of the Protector's measures severely felt in all the trading towns along the coast.*

It is not a little remarkable, that when he determined to go to war with his Catholic Majesty, Cromwell did not at once conclude the treaty with France. But, on the contrary, as if he had cov-

* Cromwell, it is said, in going to war with Spain without any provocation, availed himself of the omission of the word America, in the treaty subsisting between that nation and England; as if he could have gone to war with the colonies separately from the mother country.

eted hostilities with both countries at the same time, he continued to throw obstacles in the way of a final adjustment with Louis; attacked his ships in the Mediterranean; and inflicted insults on his representative. The negotiation, however, was on the point of being completed, when intelligence arrived of disturbances in Piedmont; which, as they affected the Protestant interest, were thought worthy of the interposition of England and of her zealous governor.

The origin of the misunderstanding between the Vandois and the Duke of Savoy their sovereign, is involved in some obscurity, from the mixture, as is usual in such cases, of political and religious motives. Arms were assumed on both sides, and several cruelties were attributed to the troops employed by the prince to subdue these Protestant insurgents. The national feeling in England being at that epoch strongly excited against popery, the news had no sooner reached our shores that an interesting race of men, who professed the same faith, were subjected to a bloody persecution, than all classes, military and civil, importuned the Protector to intercede in their behalf, and, if necessary, to hazard a general war. Cromwell, in the first instance, applied to the French king to join with him in soliciting from the duke a reasonable degree of toleration for the inhabitants of the valleys. Louis accepted the invitation, and employed his good offices at Turin; where the envoy of England soon afterward arrived to urge the suit of his master, on the broader grounds of justice and of Christian forbearance. After some explanation, the duke listened to the remonstrances and entreaties of the two great powers; granted a pardon to the rebels, as he was pleased to consider them: and confirmed the privileges which they had formerly enjoyed within the limits of their narrow but romantic territory.

The treaty with France, which Cromwell obvi-

ously took more pleasure in discussing than in bringing to a conclusion, was at length, in October, 1656 signed by the ministers of the respective governments. At the commencement of the correspondence between Paris and London, some difficulty arose as to the form of address to be used in those official communications, into which the names of the two rulers were introduced. Louis acknowledged Cromwell as his *cousin*; but the latter, satisfied with nothing less than regal honours, insisted upon the style formerly used in all similar documents transmitted from the one court to the other. The pride of the Bourbon could not submit to receive the upstart general on the footing of an equal. A compromise was effected, which allowed each to retain his own position; but it has been remarked that, in the body of the treaty, neither the king nor the Protector is once named. The articles are described as stipulations between the commonwealth of England and the kingdom of France. In the preamble, indeed, the French monarch is mentioned as having sent his ambassador to London; and it is merely added, that the most serene lord, the Protector, appointed commissioners to meet him; but no precedency is either claimed or insinuated on either side. Previously to the signature, however, the French plenipotentiary discovered that the usual title of his master was altered into a form which seemed to imply a diminution of authority, and on that account refused to proceed. After some explanation, which may be supposed to have had a reference to the dignity of the English crown in right of Henry the Fifth, the objection was removed, and the deed regularly signed.*

It was provided by the contract now mentioned,

*"Rex Gallorum" was substituted for "Rex Galliarum:" a change which would not have been minded, had it not been made by a foreign and rival power. The former is the title which the National Assembly afterward adopted.—Thurlow, vol. iv. 115; Lingard, xi. 269.

that Charles Stuart, his brother the Duke of York, the Earl of Ormond, Lord-chancellor Hyde, and fifteen other attendants of the exiled prince, should be excluded from the kingdom of France; and that a similar banishment should be exercised in England against certain individuals, who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the French ministry.

The return of September involved the country once more in the ferment of a parliamentary election. Every measure which prudence could suggest or jealousy devise, was adopted by the Protector to prevent the choice of republicans and royalists. Vane, Ludlow, and Rich, were put under restraint; other friends of the commonwealth were disqualified by having criminal prosecutions raised against them; all Catholics and cavaliers were excluded from voting by one of the provisions of the instrument of government; a large military force was collected to overawe the motions of the Presbyterians in the city, and the whole influence of the administration, whether in the army or in the civil department, was exerted to procure a representation favourable to the views of Cromwell.

But notwithstanding all these means, the spirit of the country was so completely alienated from the usurper, that he could not secure a majority of members fitted for his purpose. Profiting by his knowledge of the past, he immediately resolved to have recourse to an expedient for purging the House before it should be allowed to meet. He desired the returns from the several counties and boroughs to be laid before a council of military officers, whom he empowered to examine into the religious and political character of the gentlemen therein named: and having inspected the report of this commission, he sanctioned their list of proscription, containing nearly one hundred members, who were not to be admitted, on account of their suspicious principles. A certificate was granted to those who were thought

worthy to pass, expressed in the terms which are given below.*

On the 17th of September, he met his select parliament in the Painted Chamber, where he pronounced to them a speech which must have occupied a long time in the delivery, and sufficiently tried the patience of the most complaisant hearer. Let the reader peruse the following specimen, and judge what must have been the extent of penance inflicted upon those who were condemned to listen to such stuff for two hours. "When I came hither, I did think that a duty was incumbent upon me a little to pity myself, because (this being a very extraordinary occasion) I thought I had very many things to say to you: but truely now, seeing you in such a condition as you are, I think I must turn off in this, as I hope I shall in every thing else, and reflect upon as certainly not being able long to bear that condition and heat that you are in. Rhetoricians, to whom I do not pretend; neither to them, nor to the things they use to speak, words; truly our business is to speak things. The dispensations of God that are upon us do require it, and that subject upon which we shall make our discourse, is somewhat of very great interest and concernment, both to the glory of God, and with reference to his interest in the world. I mean his peculiar, his most peculiar interest, and that will not leave any of us to exclude his general interest, which is the concernment of the living people within these three nations with all the dependencies thereupon. I told you I should speak to things, things that concern these interests, the glory of God and his peculiar interest in the world, which is more extensive, I say

* "September 17, 1656. County of———
These are to certify, that A. B. is returned by indenture one of the knights to serve in this parliament for the said county, and is approved by his highness's council—
No. 4. Thyl. 1, clerk of the commonwealth in Chancery."

more extensive, than the people of all these three nations, with the appurtenances, or the countries and places belonging unto them."

He concludes a most absurd and very unintelligible address, by giving an exposition of the eighty-fifth psalm. "I have but this one thing to say more. I know it is troublesome; but I did read a psalm yesterday, which, truly, may not unbecome me, both to tell you of, and you to observe. It is the eighty-fifth psalm, that is very instructive and significant: and though I do but a little touch upon it, I desire your perusal at pleasure. Truly I wish that this psalm, as it is written in the book, might be better written in our hearts, that we may say as David 'Thou hast done this, and thou hast done that.' Therefore I beseech you, in the name of God, set your hearts to this, and if you give your hearts to it, then you will sing Luther's psalm. This is a rare psalm or a Christian, and if he set his heart open and can approve it to God, we shall hear him say, God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble. If pope, and Spaniard, and devil and all set themselevs against us, though they should compass us about like bees, as it is in the 118th psalm, yet in the name of the Lord we would destroy them." Then he repeats two or three times, "The Lord of Hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge."*

It was not to be expected that the secluded members should quietly submit to the injustice inflicted upon them, and thereby sanction one of the most furious violations that ever was made on the law and constitution of the country. They were insultingly reminded by the Protector's council, that a clause in the instrument of government provided that the persons elected to serve in parliament should be of known integrity, fearing God, and of

*Burton's Diary, vol. i. p. 148-178

good conversation; and were, at the same time informed, that the officers appointed to examine the returns had, in pursuance of their duty and according to the trust reposed in them, refused to approve all who did not appear possessed of the requisite qualifications. It was added, too, that in regard to those who were not approved, his highness had given orders to some persons to take care that they should not enter into the House.

As this explanation only conveyed an additiona insult, the excluded representatives published a remonstrance and protest; setting forth, that Cromwell had forcibly shut out of doors such members of the intended parliament as he and his council supposed would not be frightened or flattered to betray their country, and give up their religion, lives, and estates to be at his will, and to serve his lawless ambition. They remarked, that they doubted not, "as the common practice of the man had been, that the name of God and religion, and formal fasts and prayers, would be made use of to colour over the blackness of the fact." They farther observed, that by force of arms he had invaded the fundamental laws and liberties of England, and that he had taken upon himself to be above the whole body of the people, as if he were their absolute lord, and had bought them for slaves.

The nation was not a little agitated by this violent infringement of their rights; but being divided into a variety of parties, no plan proposed for the redress of grievances could obtain universal consent. The parliament, meanwhile, consisting entirely of members *approved by the council*, exhibited a greater degree of complaisance to their master than his experience of that assembly could have afforded any reason to anticipate. Besides renewing the act which made it high treason to imagine the death of the Lord Protector; or to proclaim, publish, or promote Charles Stuart," they enacted that all

persons accused of such practices should be tried before high courts of justice, consisting of special commissioners; who, or any seventeen of them, were empowered to hear, and determine by examination of witnesses upon oath, and to proceed to conviction and final sentence, according to justice and the merits of the case. By this statute, the life of every suspected royalist was placed in the hands of the Protector; for as the judges appointed by him were likewise the jury, and placed above the reach of challenge, the accused party had a very small chance of escape. Whitelock, who was nominated one of the commissioners, showed his opinion of this unconstitutional tribunal by refusing on every occasion to take his seat.

No better opportunity could ever present itself for accomplishing his favourite object of obtaining the crown, than during the session of a legislative body who seemed willing to sacrifice every privilege, in order to gratify his ambition and sooth his fears. The first motion to that effect was made by Colonel Jephson, who frankly proposed to the House the expediency of raising Cromwell to the throne. Others say that the merit of this suggestion was due to Mr Ashe, who, in a conversation about the safety of Oliver's person, remarked, "I would have something else added, which, in my opinion would tend very much to the preservation of himself and us and to the quieting of all the designs of our enemies; that his highness would be pleased to take upon him the government according to the ancient constitution, so that the hopes of our enemies and their plots would be at an end."*

This suggestion was made on the 19th January 1657, and seems to have been very well received by several of the members. One of them, indeed, remarked, that he did not know what was meant by

* Burton's Diary, vol. i. 368.

he "ancient constitution," if it were not the interest of Charles Stuart, whom he hoped they did not intend to call back again. He had no wish that Cromwell should be appointed the viceroy of the exiled king, or any such thing. But another, Mr. Robinson, replied that it was not a matter of merriment: on the contrary, it was one which ought seriously to be weighed. "When," said he, "men pull down houses that are ruinous, they try awhile by setting up shrouds, but finding them drop in, they build their houses again. I cannot propound a better expedient for the preservation both of his highness and the people, than by establishing the government upon the old and tried foundation, as was moved to you by a grave and well-experienced person."*

It is evident, however, from the spirit of the debate which ensued, that matters had not been fully concerted. One of the orators exclaimed "will you make the Protector the greatest hypocrite in the world?" But the conversation answered one purpose favourable to the designs of Cromwell; his friends were thereby enabled to find out where their strength lay, and where they had opposition to dread. On the 23d of February, accordingly, Sir Christopher Pack, one of the members of the city, presented a paper to the House declaring it was "somewhat come to his hands, tending to the settlement of the nation, of liberty, and of property, and prayed it might be received and read." Considerable discussion took place as to the point, whether it should be read before the subject of it were farther opened up; but, upon a division, the party of the Protector gained a triumph, carrying with them a majority of 144 to 54. The paper was entitled, "The humble address and remonstrance of the knights, citizens, and burgesses, now assembled in the parliament of the commonwealth." It was, in short, the first

* Burton, vol. i. p. 364.

edition of the celebrated Petition and Advice: a document which Ludlow described as being a shoe fitted to the foot of a monarch, as it invested him and the two houses with the supreme legislative authority. At the present step, it is true, the title of the "single person" was not specified; a blank being left which was afterward to be filled up according to the judgment of the Commons.

The import of Pack's paper being now fully revealed, the consideration of it was vehemently opposed by the republicans, and chiefly by some of the military officers whom Cromwell had not ventured to exclude. Ludlow tells us that they fell so furiously on Sir Christopher for his great presumption in bringing a business of that nature into the House in such an unparliamentary way, that they bore him down from the speaker's chair to the bar. Notwithstanding this opposition, the measure was finally carried, and the blank filled up with the word KING. On the 31st of March, the House, with the speaker at their head, presented to his highness the humble Petition and Advice of the Parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland. A long speech was pronounced, setting forth the advantages of regal government, and the confidence of the nation in a new sovereign. His reply was less prolix than usual, having, it is probable, resolved to imitate the kingly brevity. He acknowledges that he had lived the better part of his age in the fire, in the midst of troubles; that he was very unworthy of the honour now about to be conferred upon him, but his comfort was, that all the burdens which had lain heavy upon him were imposed by the hand of God. "And I have not known," he adds, "and been many times at a loss, which way to stand under the weight of what hath lain upon me, but by looking at the conduct and pleasure of God in it, which hitherto I have found to be a good pleasure towards me: and should I give any resolution in this suddenly, without seek-

ing to have an answer put into my heart, and so into my mouth, by Him who hath been my God and my guide hitherto, it would give you very little cause of comfort, in such a choice as you have made in such a business as this is, because it would savour more to be of the flesh, to proceed from lust, to arise from ignorance of self."

The lawyers and civilians at large who favoured this project were probably in earnest, and really wished to see the government settled on its old foundation. But the military officers were hostile to it in a high degree. Fleetwood, Desborough, and even Lambert, had resolved to oppose his elevation to the throne; and no flattering or argument on his part could shake their determination. One day he invited himself to dine with Desborough, who, the reader will recollect, was his brother-in-law, and took Fleetwood, his son-in-law with him; and availing himself of the opportunity, he began "to droll with them about monarchy, and said it was but a feather in a man's cap; and therefore wondered that men would not please children, and permit them to enjoy their rattle." But in reply they very gravely assured him that there was more in the matter than he perceived; that those who put him upon it were no enemies to Charles Stuart; and that, if he accepted of it, he would infallibly draw ruin both on himself and friends. Cromwell called them a couple of precise scrupulous fellows, and departed.

On this occasion, as on all others where his feelings were deeply engaged, the Protector had recourse to jocularity and merriment. Whitelock relates, that while the acceptance of the crown was in suspense, he frequently consulted him, Lord Broghil, Thurlow, Pierrepont, and Sir Charles Wolseley, as to the measures which he ought to pursue. "He would sometimes be very cheerful with us, and laying aside his greatness, would be exceeding familiar with us; and, by way of diversion, would make verses with us:

and every one must try his fancy. He would commonly call for tobacco, pipes, and a candle, and now and then would take tobacco himself. Then he would fall again to his serious and great business, and advise with us in those affairs; and this he did often with us."

The counsellors just named were all on one side, and extremely favourable to his pretensions. Bates, the Protector's physician, who viewed passing events from a near point, confirms this opinion, and says, that the commissioners of the great seal, the judges, and even some of the officers of the army, urged, entreated, and earnestly importuned him to assume the royal title. But he adds, that on the other hand, the anabaptists, sectaries, and democrats wearied him with letters, conferences, and monitory petitions; and that he dismissed them all, alike dubious and ignorant of his real intention. Nowhere, indeed, did the proposal to make Cromwell king meet with more determined opposition than in the conventicles of the fanatical sects by which London was at that time distracted. The fifth monarchy-men, in particular, who viewed even the protectorate as an impiety, considered kingship as a sacrilegious assumption of the authority belonging to the only king, the Lord Jesus Christ. They held themselves as his witnesses foretold i the book of Revelation; They had now slept their sleep of three years and a half; and they pronounced that the time was come when it was their duty to rise and take vengeance. The lion of the tribe of Judah was the device selected for their military ensign; and though their number did not exceed eighty, they hoped to conquer, under the direction of Him who enables the worm to thrash the mountains. They fixed a day for their rising in the city; but as their motions were carefully watched by the government, a few soldiers appeared at their place of muster, and took a number of them prisoners. The rest escaped with the loss of their arms

and the other muniments of war; thereby affording a proof that their commentary on the Apocalypse, like most of the more learned labours of cooler heads on the same subject, must have proceeded on false principles.

After a variety of conferences with the committee appointed by the House to remove his scruples, Cromwell, about the beginning of May, made known to his friends his resolution to accept the regal title. Wellwood asserts that a crown was actually made and brought to Whitehall. Desborough, whose views of the matter remained unaltered, told the Protector, that if such a step were taken, he should consider the cause for which they had fought, and even their own families, as utterly ruined; and that, though he and his military associates would not take arms against him, they never would exert themselves in his behalf, or support his government. Oliver began once more to hesitate, and to examine the ground on which he stood. He knew that he was surrounded by enemies, some of whom were actuated by the most fanatical antipathy to the office which he meant to assume, and were, therefore, capable of the most desperate undertakings. Clarendon assures us, that an officer of rank, in a conference on the subject, told him resolutely and vehemently, that if he ever took upon him the kingly title, he would kill him with his own hand; and his lordship adds, as an unquestionable fact, that Cromwell was informed, and believed, that there were a number of men who had bound themselves by an oath to assassinate him within so many hours after he should have accepted that title.

At length, on the 7th of May, he sent a message to the House, requiring their attendance next morning in the Painted Chamber; which being the place where he always gave his assent to bills, his acceptance of the title was looked upon as certain.

But a combination, of which he had received no

notice, was already formed to defeat his design, when on the very eve of completion. The House had hardly met on the 8th of May, when Colonel Mason appeared at the bar with a petition, subscribed by himself and about thirty other officers, setting forth, that having hazarded their lives against monarchy, and being still ready to do so, and having observed in some men great endeavours to bring the nation under its old servitude, by pressing their general to take upon him the title and government of a king, in order to destroy him; they therefore humbly desired the House to discountenance all such persons and endeavours, and continue steadfast to the old cause, for the preservation of which they, for their own parts, repeated their readiness to lay down their lives.

On hearing of this circumstance, Cromwell sent for Fleetwood, and told him that he wondered he would suffer such a petition to proceed so far, which he might have hindered, since he knew it to be his resolution not to accept the crown without the consent of the army; and therefore desired him to hasten to the House, and to put them off from doing any thing further therein. The lieutenant-general immediately went thither, and desired that the debate on the petition might be put off till they had received the Protector's answer to what had been formerly offered to him. To this reasonable request, the House immediately assented. Soon afterward, in the course of the same morning, a message arrived from Cromwell, desiring the members to meet him, not in the Painted Chamber as originally appointed, but in the Banqueting House; where, with much affected self-denial, and a great air of conscientious feeling, he refused the golden bauble on which he had so long set his heart. "I should not be an honest man," says he, with his wonted perspicuity, "if I did not tell you that I cannot accept of the government, nor undertake the trouble and charge

of it, which I have a little more experimented than everybody, what trouble and difficulties do befall men under such trusts, and in such undertakings—I say I am persuaded to return this answer to you, that I cannot undertake the government with the title of king; and this is my answer to this great and weighty business."

There cannot be the slightest doubt, however, that Cromwell meant to accept both the regal title, and all the dignity annexed to it. Whitelock states explicitly, that the Protector was satisfied in his private judgment that it was expedient for him to assume the name and authority of king; but, he adds, "by solicitation of the commonwealth's men, and fearing a mutiny and defection of a great body of the army in case he should take that title and office, his mind changed; and many of the officers of the army gave out high threatenings against him if he should do it." The same view of the case is further confirmed by a letter, dated at Whitehall, on the 27th of April, and addressed by Sir Francis Russell to his son-in-law, the Lord Henry Cromwell. "I do in this (letter) desire to take leave of your *lordship*, for my next is likely to be to the Duke of York. Your father begins to come out of the clouds, and it appears to us that he will take the kingly power upon him. That great noise which was made about this business not long since, is almost over, and I cannot think there will be the least combustion about it. This day I have had some discourse with your father about this great business. He is very cheerful, and his troubled thoughts seem to be over. I was told the other day by Colonel Pride, that I was for a king, because I hoped that the next would be Henry's turn."*

The Petition and Advice, which gave in some degree a new form to the government, was finally con-

* Lansdowne MSS. 823. No. 418, quoted in Burton's Diary by Mr Rutt.

ducted through the forms of the House, and in due time received the assent of the Protector. By this instrument the power of nominating his successor was vested in the chief magistrate; an arrangement which, in ordinary cases, might be considered as tantamount to a declaration that the office of the Protector was hereditary. He was by the same deed authorized to name a second or Upper House of Parliament, the members of which should enjoy their seats during life, and be entitled to exercise some of the functions of the former House of Peers. But, in return, he was deprived of the unconstitutional power of framing laws with the consent of his council, during the intervals of parliament: and he was made to relinquish the still more objectionable privilege of excluding members from the Lower House, who had been regularly elected and returned. To conclude this transaction, which had occupied the attention of the public during three months, it was resolved that Cromwell, who had now received his power and office from the representatives of the people, should be installed anew into the Protectorate, and recommended to the homage of the nation. This ceremony took place on the 20th of June, in Westminster Hall, with every circumstance of magnificence and parade; but as it was a poor substitute for the pageantry which the chief actor in it had expected, there was evidently more show than joy in the noisy display with which it was accompanied.*

* After describing the titles and dresses of the official persons who attended, Heath, in his brief Chronicle, proceeds as follows:—"Then the Speaker, in the name of the parliament, presented to him a robe of purple velvet, a sword, and a sceptre; at the delivery of which the Speaker made a short comment upon them to the Protector, which he divided into four parts.

"1. The robe of purple—this is an emblem of magistracy; when you have put on this vestment I may say you are a gown-man. This robe is of a mixed colour, to show the mixture of justice and mercy.

"2. The Bible is the book that contains the Holy Scriptures, in which you have the happiness to be well versed. This Book of Life consists of two Testaments, the Old and the New; the first shows *Christum velatum;* the second, *Christum revelatum,* Christ vailed and revailed: it is

Among the first steps taken by Cromwell, after all hopes of royalty in his own person were dissipated, was the dismissal of several officers of rank from their places in the army. He deprived Lambert of all his commissions, but recommended an annuity as a reward for his past services. He endeavoured, at the same time, to strengthen his interests by filling all confidential posts with trusty friends, who were disposed to stand or to fall with his government and family. But no precaution could any longer secure peace of mind, or even an exemption from the dread of personal violence and of an untimely death. The most powerful of his ancient friends, the brave men by whose sides he had fought at Naseby, Dunbar, and Worcester, were now alienated from him, or known only as his most determined enemies. Spies and prisons could afford him

a book of books, and doth contain both precepts and examples for good government.

"3. Here is a sceptre, not unlike a staff; for you are to be a staff to the weak and poor; it is of ancient use in this kind. It is said in Scripture that the sceptre shall not depart from Judah. It was of the like use in other kingdoms; Homer the Greek poet calls kings and princes sceptre-bearers.

"4. The last thing is a sword, not a military, but a civil sword; it is rather a sword of defence than of offence; not to defend yourself only, but your people also. If I might presume to fix a motto upon this sword, as the valiant Lord Talbot had upon his, it should be thus. *Ego sum domini protectoris, ad protigendum populum meum*—I am the Protector's, to protect my people.

"This speech being ended, the Speaker took the Bible and gave the Lord-protector his oath; afterward Mr. Manton made a prayer; which being ended, the heralds by sound of trumpet, proclaimed his highness Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto be longing, requiring all persons to yield him due obedience."

Cromwell upon this great occasion sent for some of the chief city divines, as if he had made it a matter of conscience to be determined by their advice. Among these was the leading Mr. Calamy, who very boldly opposed the project of Cromwell's single government, and offered to prove it both unlawful and impracticable. Cromwell answered readily upon the first head of unlawful, and appealed to the safety of the nation being the supreme law. "But," says he, "pray, Mr. Calamy, how impracticable?" Calamy replied, "Oh! 'tis against the voice of the nation; there will be nine in ten against you." "Very well," says Cromwell, "but what if I should disarm the nine, and put the sword in the tenth man's hand, would not that do the business?"

no security against the hand of an assassin; and he had reason to suspect that there were hundreds who would willingly have sacrificed their lives, for the bare hope of being able to visit with a suitable and condign punishment a deceiver, a tyrant, and a usurper. He had indeed formed a second house of parliament, and induced a few of the ancient nobility to condescend so far as to accept a place among his lords; but instead of finding strength in this expedient, he encountered ridicule and contempt. His new men were ashamed of their titles, and refused to degrade themselves by resigning the more honourable seat to which they had been called in the House of Commons by the voice of the people; and his nobility soon discovered that their order, unsupported by the power and splendour of a royal court, was a mere excrescence on a popular constitution; and that, as always happens where it is only tolerated, it would, in the end, be laughed at and despised. It was, therefore, a gross mistake to retain in the schedule of the new government a House of Lords, in subordination to a plebeian Protector.

The fears of Cromwell as to the designs of his enemies against his life, were not altogether without foundation. The more violent class of republicans at home were at all times ready to co-operate with the royalists abroad; and whether the latter received any direct countenance from Charles, or acted solely from motives of personal dislike, there can be no doubt that plans were encouraged on both sides of the Channel for putting an end to the Commonwealth by the death of the usurper. With the view of preventing any sudden attack on the palace, Oliver selected from different regiments of cavalry a hundred and sixty brave fellows, in whom he could repose the utmost confidence, and to whom he gave the pay and appointments of officers. He divided them into eight troops of twenty men each, and directed that two of these bodies, in rotation, should

always be on duty near his person. He wore a coat-of-mail, or steel shirt, as it was called, under his usual clothing; carried loaded pistols in his pockets; changed his bedroom two or three times a-week; and when he rode out, concealed even from his servants the places to which he was going, and seldom returned the same road by which he had left home.

One of the most formidable of the plots devised against him, was committed to the management of Colonel Sexby; who, in his turn, employed an accomplice, whose name was Syndercombe, a man of a restless temper and violent principles. This last, by means of a life-guardsman, who pretended to accept a bribe, procured admittance to the chapel at Whitehall. There he deposited combustibles, and placed a match, so as to secure the conflagration of the palace before midnight, when certain persons inside were ready to destroy the Protector, either by shutting him up amid the flames, or by piercing him with a weapon. But the soldier revealed the secret to his master, and the assassins were seized. Syndercombe was condemned to suffer the penalties of high treason; but on the morning appointed for his execution he was found dead in his bed; having perished either by his own hands, or by an order from government, to avoid the infamy of a public punishment.

About this time a tract was published in Holland, entitled "Killing no Murder," which created a great sensation in England. The author addresses himself first to Cromwell, and then to the army, after which, in a strain of the bitterest irony, he proceeds to discuss the following questions, "Whether the Protector be a tyrant; whether it be lawful to do justice on him by killing him; and whether, if it be lawful, it will prove of benefit to the commonwealth?" Having determined all these points in the affirmative, the writer pronounces an eloquent eulogium

on all tyrant-slayers from Brutus to Syndercombe and concludes with a piece of information which was meant at once to terrify Cromwell and to encourage his enemies. He asserts that the Protector's own muster-roll contains the names of those who aspire to the honour of delivering their country; that his highness is not secure at his table, or in his bed; that death is at his heels wherever he moves; and that though his head reaches the clouds, he shall perish like dung, and they that have seen him shall exclaim "Where is he?"

Some thousand copies of this spirited production were sent into England, of which a considerable number was thrown into circulation. Sexby was soon apprehended by the officers of justice, and lodged in the Tower. His conduct while in confinement was so extremely ambiguous, that doubts were entertained as to the soundness of his intellect; which was the reason, perhaps, why he was never brought to trial, nor examined in open court. He died in prison after an interval of six months; not without suspicion, as in the case of Syndercombe, that secret violence had been employed, to obviate the scandal and hazard of a public execution. Candour, however, requires that we should exonerate the memory of Cromwell from the charge of murder, as no evidence was ever brought forward to establish any connexion between the death of these criminals, and an explicit order from the Protector.

The historians of that troubled period have been unanimous in combining with the attempts of Sexby, a projected invasion of the royalists in Spanish ships, and a rising of Charles's friends and Cromwell's enemies throughout a considerable part of England. The impatience of the conspirators, and the slowness of the ministry of Madrid, defeated the plan, if any such were formed, for the renewal of the civil war; and postponed at least till another year the miseries of an unsuccessful insurrection.

The Commons had adjourned several months to allow time for the formation of the new House of Peers. On the 20th of January, 1658, both chambers met at Westminster, when the Protector formally opened the business of the session. He made a speech in the Upper, or, as it was more commonly called, the *other* House, exhorting the lords and gentlemen to unity, and expressing his unbounded confidence in their zeal and patriotism. But it was not the fortune of Cromwell to receive any support or comfort from parliaments. By one of the provisions of the Petition and Advice, which deprived him of the power of excluding any member who had been regularly returned to the Lower House, the representatives formerly shut out by the refusal of a certificate, were now permitted to resume their seats, and to add greatly to the strength of the opposition. A similar effect was produced by the elevation of several of the most active friends of government to the rank of lords; and hence, no sooner did the ministers proceed to unfold their views of state affairs, and to demand supplies, than they found that the prevailing sentiment among the Commons was decidedly hostile to the policy of the Protector.

The subjects which chiefly engrossed the attention of the Commons, were the name and powers of the *other* House. They asked who had made its members lords, and who had the privilege of restoring the authority of the ancient peerage. It was in vain for Cromwell's friends to reply, that the Protector had called them lords, and that it was the object of the Petition and Advice to re-establish the second estate. No symptom of harmony appeared between the two branches of the legislature. Whenever the Lords sent a message to the Commons, the latter refused to give an answer until they had determined by what name they were to address the others; and to what extent they were to admit

their right to interfere with the deliberations of a body to whom they, in fact, owed their existence. Cromwell was grieved to the heart by the obstinacy of the republicans, and more especially by the contempt with which they treated his batch of peers He summoned them both to attend him at the banqueting-house, where he again lectured them on the necessity of unanimity, and pointed out the dangers with which they were threatened from abroad. But all his pious cares were expended in vain; and he soon found himself compelled to have recourse to an expedient of a more determined character. Pressed for want of money to pay his army, alarmed by reports of foreign invasion, and being assured that a faction, composed of the high republicans in the House and of the fanatical party among the officers, was employed in forwarding a petition among the citizens of London, with a view of restoring the commonwealth without a Protector or House of Peers, he resolved forthwith to dismiss the parliament, and to take the reins of government exclusively into his own hands. One morning accordingly, in the beginning of February, when he was irritated by continued opposition almost to a degree of madness, he leaped into a hackney-coach which he saw standing near Whitehall, called six of his guards who were at hand, and drove instantly to the doors of the House.

He presented himself among the Lords, who were not at all prepared for his appearance in a manner so sudden and undignified; and Fleetwood, who had now joined him, endeavoured to dissuade him from a step which he would probably repent, especially as he must thereby take his best friends by surprise. At these words he laid his hand upon his breast, and swore by the living God that he would do it, and that they should not sit another hour. Sending to the House of Commons by the usher of the black rod, he required the attendance of the members; many

of whom declined to come. But the others, with the speaker at their head, obeyed the requisition; and when they were assembled, he addressed them at some length. Among other things, he said that they had placed him in the high situation in which he stood: he sought it not; there was neither man nor woman treading on English ground who could say he did. God knew that he would rather have lived under a woodside and tended a flock of sheep, than have undertaken the government. But having undertaken it at their request, he had a right to look to them for aid and support. Yet some among them, God was his witness, in violation of their oaths, were attempting to establish a commonwealth-interest in the army; some had received commissions to enlist men for Charles Stuart; and both had their emissaries at that moment seeking to raise a tumult, or rather a rebellion in the city. But he was bound before God to prevent such disasters; "and therefore," said he, "I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting; and I do dissolve this parliament, and let God judge between me and you."*

The position which Cromwell now occupied was indeed far from being enviable. His enemies beyond seas were not less active than his political antagonists at home; and wherever he turned, he saw himself surrounded with danger and treachery. He filled London with troops; but his confidence, even in the army, began to be shaken. His own regiment was corrupted by the infusion of violent principles, insomuch that he was obliged to cashier some of the principal officers. Colonel Hacker, his tried and resolute associate, was one of the number. "I that had served him," says that brave soldier, "fourteen years, ever since he was captain of a troop of horse, till he came to this power, and had commanded a

* Journals of Commons, Feb. 4, 1657-8. Some of the members answered, "Amen, Amen!"

regiment seven years, without any trial or appeal with the breath of his nostrils, I was outed, and lost not only my place, but a dear friend to boot. Five captains under my command, all of integrity, courage, and valour, were outed with me, because they could not say that that was a House of Lords." But still the flood of opposition rolled on and increased. Another plot was formed by the royalists in the west, who expected King Charles in the spring of the year, attended by a powerful fleet and army. The Earl of Ormond came over to direct and animate their zeal; and sanguine hopes were for a moment entertained that the star of the Stuarts was once more to attain the ascendant, and to eclipse the fading light of the protectoral family.

The detail of the events now alluded to belongs to general history, rather than to the personal narrative of Cromwell. Suffice it to say, that the intrigues of the king's friends in Holland led only to the discomfiture of his adherents in Britain, and brought several of them to an untimely death. Finding some of the objects of his suspicion and terror in his hands, Oliver assembled a High Court of Justice with instructions to bring the leaders to an immediate trial. Sir Henry Slingsby, a Roman Catholic and Dr. Hewet, an Episcopal clergyman, were condemned by that illegal tribunal to suffer the doom awarded against treason. Great interest was made but in vain, for both the criminals; the Protector having determined to intimidate, by examples of severity, a class of men whom no forbearance could gain, and no concessions mollify. His favourite daughter, Elizabeth, is said to have importuned him to grant a pardon to Hewet, whose ministry she attended, and who is understood to have performed the ceremony of marriage when she was united to Mr. Claypole. But he continued inexorable, and allowed the sentence of the law to be executed on both the convicted royalists.

The disturbed state of things at home did not altogether prevent the Protector from attending to the fortune of the war which employed the armies of France and Spain. It had long been an object with England to obtain a seaport on the opposite coast, by means of which the government might maintain an easy communication with the continent in time of peace, and have a convenient point for debarkation in the event of hostilities. The same views influenced the mind of Cromwell; who, in his negotiations with Mazarin, the new minister of France, covenanted for Dunkirk as the reward of his alliance, and the price at which he consented to sell the service of his veteran troops. It has been asserted that the French were not sincere in their professions to Lockhart, who commanded the English contingent; and that when Louis and the cardinal entered the town, which had yielded to the arms of the confederates, they congratulated themselves upon obtaining so valuable a fortress on such easy terms. But Cromwell's penetration had supplied an antidote for this disgraceful conduct. He had instructed Lockhart, should any hesitation appear in his allies to fulfil their contract, to draw off his troops and threaten to join the Spaniards; who would, he had no reason to doubt, willingly sacrifice Dunkirk to obtain even the neutrality of England. The general literally complied with the directions which he had received. He pulled out his watch, and told Mazarin, if he did not resign the town in question within one hour, he should see the British regiments on their march to the camp of the Spaniards.

Louis, still sensible of the importance of keeping on good terms with the Protector, and apprehensive perhaps lest the suspicion of recent insincerity might alienate him from the cause of the great nation, sent the Duke of Crequi on a mission of congratulation and compliment to the court of Whitehall. The

cardinal who had no less reason than his master to dread the indignation of Cromwell, entreated his acceptance of a splendid gift, and the assurance of his continued respect for his government. But Oliver felt passing in his mind matters of deeper import than even the policy of France and the homage of its rulers. His finances were exhausted; his army was unpaid; and the means by which he had formerly replenished his treasury were, since the meeting of the last parliament, pronounced unlawful. He attempted to raise a loan in the city; but when the merchants asked for a more substantial security than the credit of his name and government, he had nothing to offer. They suggested a mortgage on the estates of his friends, or a debenture on the landed property of the royalists; and he listened to their proposals so far as to name a commission to make inquiry as to the extent to which such security could be procured. No expedient, however, could be discovered by these counsellors for meeting the wants of the state. The embarrassment was allowed to increase; the treasury continued empty; and those who had hitherto placed the utmost reliance on the vigour and wisdom of the Protector, began to perceive that there was no longer any aid in the devices of man. He had consented to listen to the expediency of summoning another parliament, whom he hoped to find more obsequious than the last, when a great domestic calamity absorbed all his thoughts, and matured in him the seeds of a fatal disease which had already begun to waste his vital powers.

His favourite daughter, who had herself been touched by the hand of sorrow, was fast approaching to the grave. She had ever possessed a deep hold on the affections of the Protector; but now, when he saw her daily sinking under the pressure of a mortal illness, he became more and more interested in her sufferings and anxious for her recovery.

He spent much of his time at Hampton Court where she resided; endeavouring to support her mind with the consolations of religion, and to reconcile her to the political necessity of certain measures in his administration, which she had never ceased to condemn. She lamented the death of Dr. Hewet, for whom she had interceded with the most passionate entreaty; she exhorted him to restore the throne to its rightful owner; and to withdraw himself from the sin and danger of supreme power. It is added, that when her mind was seized with delirium, she stunned his ears by uttering cries of "blood," and announcing predictions of coming vengeance.

When the death of Elizabeth was communicated to him, he was already confined to bed under a complication of gout, fever, and ague. About the middle of August, his complaints became so serious as to alarm his medical attendants; and perceiving, from their looks and whispers, that they thought him in danger, he desired to be propped up with pillows until he should execute his private will. But whatever were his own fears, he laboured to conceal them from others. When his wife came into the room, he took her by the hand, and said, "Do not think that I shall die; I am sure of the contrary." Observing that this remark excited some surprise, he instantly added, "Say not that I have lost my reason: I tell you the truth. I know it from better authority than any which you can have from Galen or Hippocrates. It is the answer of God himself to our prayers; not to mine alone, but to those of others who have a more intimate interest in him than I have. Go on cheerfully, banishing all sorrow from your looks, and deal with me as you would with a serving-man. Ye may have skill in the nature of things, yet nature can do more than all physicians put together; and God is far more above nature."

This last observation probably alludes to a circum

stance mentioned by several of Cromwell's biographers, that when his illness assumed an alarming aspect, his chaplains and the other clergy in attendance distributed themselves into different apartments, and betook themselves to their devotions separately; wishing, it was said, to ascertain, by private appeals to the will of Heaven, and by examining the impressions made upon their own hearts, as the answer of prayer, whether it was the intention of God that the Protector should die, or be restored to health. After this most modest and rational address to the secret purposes of the Almighty, the functionaries met to compare their feelings: and, it is added, that with one voice they declared, "he shall recover." This, we may presume, is the "more intimate interest," to which the dying man alluded, and by which he was most grievously misled.

Fleetwood in the same spirit writes to Henry Cromwell, "His highness hath made very great discoveries of the Lord to him in his sickness, and hath had some assurances of his being restored and made farther serviceable in this work." Goodwin, too, in one of the prayers which he offered up in his behalf, is reported to have said, "Lord, we do not ask thee for his life: of that we are assured; thou hast too many great things for this man to do for it to be possible thou shouldst remove him yet: but we pray for his speedy establishment and recovery." Cromwell himself, the night before his death, is said to have uttered the following petitions: "Lord, I am a poor foolish creature; this people would fain have me live; they think it will be best for them, and that it will redound much to thy glory;—all the stir is about this. Others would fain have me die: Lord, pardon them, and pardon thy foolish people; forgive their sins, and do not forsake them; but love and bless them, and give them rest, and bring them to a consistency, and give me rest, for Jesus Christ's sake."

During his sickness, the Protector had revised some of his theological opinions, in connexion, perhaps, with the events of his busy life; and had, it is probable, derived some comfort from the Calvinist tenet which asserts the perseverance of the saints. In this frame of mind, he is reported to have asked one of the ministers who frequented his chamber, whether the doctrine were infallibly true, that he who is once in a state of grace can never fall back into the condition of the reprobate? Upon being answered in the affirmative, he exclaimed, "Then I am safe? for I am sure I once was in a state of grace."

It would not be difficult to call in question the truth of these anecdotes; for some of them come to us through a channel which may be suspected. But the following prayer is to be found in all the collections of the sayings and doings of the singular person by whom it is asserted to have been pronounced. "Lord, though I am a wretched and miserable creature, I am in covenant with thee through grace, and I may, I will, come unto thee for thy people. Thou hast made me a mean instrument to do them some good, and thee service; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death. But, Lord, however thou dost dispose of me, continue to go on to do good for them. Give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love; and go on to deliver them and with the work of reformation, and make the name of Christ glorious in the world. Teach those who look too much upon thy instruments, to depend more upon thyself. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are thy people too; and pardon the folly of this short prayer, for Jesus Christ his sake, and give us a good night if it be thy pleasure."

This is the prayer of which Ludlow remarked

that some of the last words of Cromwell were "rather becoming a mediator than a sinner."

It was on the 3d of September, his auspicious day, that Cromwell was removed from the cares and doubtful glories of the high station to which he had climbed. A violent storm, which extended its ravages over the greater part of Southern Europe, either preceded or immediately followed the death of the Protector; trees were torn up by the roots in St. James's Park, and houses were unroofed in the city; an incident which gave rise to much foolish superstition and wicked drollery. His fanatical admirers discovered in this war of the elements, an indication of the great importance attached by Divine Providence to the character and services of the deceased; while the royalists, on the other hand, ascribed the atmospherical commotion to a feeling of rivalry among the evil spirits who rule the power of the air, each striving for the honour of conducting the usurper's soul to the place of punishment. It was about four in the afternoon when he ceased to breathe. The lamentations of the surrounding relatives reached the ears of Sterry, who immediately desired them to dry up their tears, assuring them they had more reason to rejoice than to weep. "He was your Protector here, he will prove a still more powerful protector, now that he is with Christ at the right hand of the Father."*

* "Tillotson told me that a week after Cromwell's death, he being by accident at Whitehall, and hearing there was to be a fast that day in the household, he, out of curiosity, went into the Presence Chamber where it was held. On the one side of a table, Richard, with the rest of Cromwell's family were placed, and six of the preachers were on the other side; Thomas, Goodwin, Owen, Carril, and Sterry. Then he heard a great deal of strange stuff, enough to disgust a man for ever of that enthusiastic boldness. God was, as it were, reproached with Cromwell's services, and challenged for taking him away so soon. Goodwin, who had pretended to assure them in a prayer that he was not to die, which was but a very few minutes before he expired, had now the impudence to say to God, '*Thou hast deceived us, and we were deceived.*' Sterry, praying for Richard, used these indecent words, next to blasphemy '*Make him the brightness of his father's glory, and the express image of his person.*'"—BURNET, vol. i. p. 141.

The magnificence which he had affected in his latter years, accompanied his remains to the tomb. His funeral was conducted with more than royal expense and grandeur. The disease of which he died rendered speedy interment necessary; but, in the meanwhile, a figure of wax was dressed up in royal robes, having a sceptre in one hand, and a globe in the other, a crown on the head, and surrounded with armour, banners, and standards, together with other ensigns of honour. The whole room, which was spacious, was adorned in a majestical manner; and several of his late highness's gentlemen attended about the effigy bareheaded; in which manner it continued until the 23d of November. On the day now named, the funeral procession moved from Somerset-House to Westminster, when the coffin was deposited in the sepulchre of kings, in the chapel of Henry the Seventh.*

The limits of my undertaking do not extend beyond the death of the Protector, either as subsequent events respected the interests of his family, or of the nation at large. The main object of this sketch of so important a life, was to supply facts on which the reader might form his judgment of that extraordinary man, whose actions, at a most important period, made so deep an impression among European

* "Saw the superb funeral of the Protector. He was carried from Somerset-House on a velvet bed of state, drawn by six horses, harnessed with the same: the pall was held up by his new lords; Oliver lying in effegie in rovall robes, and crowned with a crown, sceptre, and globe, like a king. The pendants and guidons were carried by the officers of the army; the imperial banners, acnievments, &c. by the hereaulds in their coates; a rich caparisoned horse, embroidered all over with gold; a knight of honour armed cap-a-pie; and after all, his guards, souldiers, and innumerable mourners. In this equipage they proceeded to Westminster; but it was the joyfullest funeral I ever saw, for there was none that cried but dogs, which the souldiers hooted away with a barbarous noise, drinking and taking tobacco in the streets as they went."—Evelyn's *Diary*, Nov. 1658.

The inscription on the coffin of Cromwell was as follows: "Olivarus Protector Reipublicae Angliae, Scotiae, et Hiberniae, Natus 25° Aprilis, Anno 1599°, Inauguratus 16° Decembris 1653, Mortuus 3° Septembris 1658°, hic situs est."

states, and whose character has ever since divided the opinions of historians, politicians, and even of divines. To accomplish this purpose, I have, with a degree of impartiality which may be thought to border upon an insipid indifference, related the principal occurrences in which he bore a part, from the time that he emerged from his obscurity at Huntingdon, till he consumed his life amid the labours and anxieties of supreme power. By following this plan, I have at least supplied the proper evidence on which all reasoning as to his character and motives ought to be founded; and by which our conclusions as to the rank which is due to him as a soldier, a magistrate, and a statesman, ought to be determined.

The duty of a biographer, perhaps, would not be thought completed, did I not give my own opinion relative to the more prominent points of Cromwell's history, and on the leading qualities of his mind in the several aspects in which it presented itself to public inspection. If such a task be at all incumbent upon a compiler of facts, this is certainly the proper stage for performing it; for which reason I shall devote the last chapter of this volume to a review of the Protector's character in the various relations under which the events of his life have passed before us—in the domestic circle, the field of battle the cabinet, and in the offices of religion.*

* See Note G, at the end of this volume, for a letter written by General Monk in Scotland, announcing the death of the Protector.

CHAPTER V.

Containing a Review of Cromwell's Actions and Character in the relations of Private as well as of Public Life.

I. No man was ever composed of more jarring elements than Oliver Cromwell. His character was made up of contrarieties; and hence the fact, that abundant materials have been supplied to those who have wished to represent him as the worst of human beings, as well as to that equally inconsiderate class of biographers who have held him up as the model of a sincere Christian and a good ruler. His natural temper appears to have been sullen and enthusiastic; susceptible of deep impressions, and reluctant to yield any sentiment or opinion which had once taken hold of his conviction. Impatient of the lot in which Providence had placed him, he became reckless and discontented in the earlier part of his life; and afterward, when the current of public events seemed to bring great objects within the reach of the active and the daring, he assumed the principles of a reformer in church and state; found fault with every thing around him, and stimulated others who had more influence than himself, to seize so favourable an opportunity for extending the power of the people, as well as for obtaining individual distinction. His own confession, when he first entered parliament, that "he knew what he would not have, but he did not know what he would have," describes the restless undefined ambition which at that time agitated his soul, and which made him equally ready to encounter the privations of a remote colony, where he should meet with no superior, or to fight his way to eminence at home,

where he hoped soon to see the highest consent to become his equals.

The enthusiasm of his spirit necessarily led him into the transports, ecstasies, and revelations which were common in his time. Indeed, he retained throughout his whole life symptoms of that elation and excitement which were remarked in the first stage of his personal reformation; and which at a later period were imputed, according to the different principles of the observers, to an overstrained imagination, to the inspiration of the Deity, or to infernal possession. Before his memorable victories of Dunbar and Worcester, his eyes were observed to sparkle, his frame became agitated, and he burst out into strange and violent fits of laughter. At no time, in fact, was he himself altogether free from the nervous excitability, or fanatical phrensy, which he knew so well how to excite and to direct in others.*

The character which attached to his early days, has been already analyzed with sufficient minuteness. That he was a free liver cannot be concealed; but, except the attempt which he made to seize his uncle's property, under the pretext that the worthy knight was no longer able to manage his affairs, we find nothing in the traditionary notices which have come down to us, which could be candidly employed to prove the want of ordinary moral principle, or of domestic kindness. He is said, indeed, to have been vindictive, and disposed to cherish for years the remembrance of a bad turn at the hand of a political or theological adversary. Of this malign propensity his historians have given several examples; and particularly in the case of certain clergymen who opposed his views in regard to a lectureship, and who were afterward made to feel the weight of his resentment in the deprivation of their benefices

That Cromwell was capable of the most atrociou

* Warwick's Memoirs, p. 276. Note in Edinburgh Edition

cruelties, is proved by his conduct at Drogheda and Wexford, where he put thousands to death in cold blood; and yet, with the inconsistency which marked his character, he was known to weep at individual suffering, and to be melted by the sight of private distress. The same physical temperament, too, which threw a settled gloom on his general habits, carried him occasionally to great bursts of mirth, and even to acts of buffoonery. Nay, what was more remarkable, and which certainly indicated a very particular constitution of mind, his feats of merriment usually arose from the intensity of serious feeling. Like a musical string unduly stretched, his spirits rebounded from the highest point of emotion and sadness, down to the lowest species of jesting and coarse familiarity. His conduct towards Ludlow while the council of officers were deliberating on the most awful subject that could occupy the attention of a human tribunal, illustrates the principle now stated; and it is manifest that when he threw the cushion at the colonel's head, his mind had just satiated itself with an anticipation of the horrors and dreadful contingencies which would attend their resolution of putting the king to death. When, again, he threw ink in Marten's face from the pen with which he had signed the warrant for Charles's execution, he yielded to that morbid quality of his nature which hurried him from one extreme to another; from a racked intensity of painful thought, to the playfulness of a child or of an idiot. It was the effect of that hysterical irritation which leads indifferently to a fit of laughter or to a paroxysm of sobbing.

There is an odd instance of this mixture of the serious and the ludicrous recorded by Dr. Hutton, and preserved in the Harleian Miscellany. "At the marriage of the Lady Frances Cromwell* to Mr

* This lady, according to the gossip of the day, was meant for Charles II

Rich, the grandson and heir of the Earl of Warwick, the Protector, whose mind at that momen. was far from being at ease, amused himself by throwing about the sack-posset among the ladies to spoil their clothes, which they took as a favour, as also wet sweetmeats; and daubed all the stools where they were to sit with wet sweetmeats; and put off Rich's wig and would have thrown it into the fire but did not, yet he sat upon it. An old formal courtier, Sir Thomas Billingsley, that was gentleman usher to the Queen of Bohemia, was entertained among them, and he danced before them with his cloak and sword, and one of the four of the protector's buffoons made his lip black like a beard, whereat the knight drew his knife, missing very little of killing the fellow."

Every one has heard of his rude funning with the soldiers; encouraging them to throw burning coals into one another's boots, and to steal away a dinner prepared for the officers, at the very moment the latter were to sit down to eat it. He took great pleasure, in short, in what is called a practical jest, which in his mind occupied the place of wit, and of that refined humour which is so nearly allied to it. His rough jocularity at his daughter's marriage will remind the reader of the still coarser display

The Earl of Orrery—formerly Lord Broghil—told Bishop Burnet that one day during those heats about kingship, he came to Cromwell and told him that he had been in the city all the morning, upon which the protector asked what news he had heard there. The other answered, he was told that he was in treaty with the king, who was to be restored, and to marry his daughter. Cromwell expressing no indignation at this, Lord Orrery said, in the state into which things were brought, he saw not a better expedient; they might bring him in on what terms they pleased; and Cromwell might retain the same authority he then had with less trouble. Cromwell answered, the king can never forgive his father's blood. Orrery said, that he was one of the many that were concerned in that, but he would be alone in the merit of restoring him. Cromwell replied, he is so damnably debauched, he would undo us all: and so turned to another discourse without any emotion, which made Orrery conclude he had often thought of that expedient."—Burnet, vol i. p. 119.

of whim at the house of his uncle Sir Oliver; the main difference is, that the pleasantry of the Protector in spoiling the ladies' clothes, was taken as a favour; whereas the nasty schoolboy was more suitably rewarded with a ducking, on a cold night at Christmas, in the horse-pond.

In the observance of the domestic duties, as a father and husband, Cromwell seems entitled to all the praise which has been bestowed upon him by his eulogists. The tongue of calumny, indeed, has not been at all times silent in regard to his intercourse with certain ladies of his court. His intrigues with the wife of General Lambert, for instance, gave rise to the remark, that "Oliver, although a great saint, was but a frail vessel."* But notwithstanding all the insinuations of his enemies, the judgment of his own age was decidedly in his favour as to the observance of morality and temperance; and even the most malignant of those writers who persecuted his memory after the restoration, were compelled to acknowledge that the piety of the people was never, during his government, outraged by such scenes of dissipation and voluptuousness as disgraced the palace of Charles the Second. The ambition which corrupted his soul in all other respects, left its feelings pure and ardent towards the various members of his family. Of Richard, it is true, he does not appear to have

* "This intimacy of Lambert's was of long standing, ever since Preston fight, and was cemented the faster by that complacency Oliver took in his wife; a woman of good birth and good parts, and of pleasing attractions, both for mind and body. The voice of the people was, that she was more familiar with him than the honour of her sex would allow, and that she had some extraordinary kindnesses for him which she had not for her husband, and that being the medium of intelligence between them, she did communicate all her husband's designs and conceal some of the others, though she needed not to have been so squeamish or reserved for one whose depths were never fathomed, or discovered to any mortal, Ireton excepted."—Heath, 128.

This supposed intimacy is caricatured with great humour, but little delicacy, in one of the volumes of the Harleian Miscellany

entertained a very high opinion. He thought him idle, spiritless, and sometimes expensive; but he nevertheless treated him, and more especially his wife, with uninterrupted kindness, and brought him forward into public business in the only department for which he thought him qualified either by talents or inclination. It is, accordingly, very gratifying to read the letters which Cromwell wrote to his kinsfolk from the field of battle, or from the more distracting scenes of political contention. In many instances, they save his character from utter condemnation; for after we have been heartily disgusted with his dissimulation, hypocrisy, and bloodshed, and are ready, like Baxter and some other political divines, to denounce him as a "perjured villain," we turn to his private letters, and become satisfied that he was not entirely forsaken by every good principle.

For a serious man, it must be admitted that he made a very odd choice of domestic chaplains. Hugh Peters was avowedly mad, and Jeremy White was a loquacious fool. Sterry, if the one half of the nonsense ascribed to him by the annalists of his day were founded on fact, must have combined in his own the respective characters of his two colleagues. John Goodwin was crazy about the Millennium; and Thomas, his namesake, held notions equally absurd on the Five Points. Perhaps Oliver wished to be high-priest in his own family; and, in this case, we may discover an intelligible reason why no man of sense was found to remain long under the Protector's roof, in quality of chaplain.

There are some anecdotes recorded concerning Jerry White, which prove that he must have officiated more frequently as the court buffoon than as a spiritual counsellor. The insinuation that Lord Falconbridge, who had married the Lady Mary

Cromwell, would never make Oliver a grandfather, led to a curious scene between that nobleman and the chaplain; for the particulars of which the reader must be referred to the chronicles of the protectoral government. Jerry himself, whose ambition was not altogether confined to professional objects, aspired to the honour of being the Protector's son-in-law, and even ventured to profane the sanctity of the palace by certain overtures of gallantry. The Lady Frances, the youngest and most beautiful of Cromwell's daughters, had been set apart by the gossip of Europe for the queen of Charles the Second, and was thus destined, it was said, to serve as the bond of union between the decaying commonwealth and the renewed royalty of England. This, it has been seen, was the burden of one of Lord Broghil's stories addressed to the ear of the lord-general.

But whatever degree of truth there may have been in this rumour, as wafted across the channel from Holland, it is asserted that Mr. White became a suitor to the fair lady, and was extremely well received. "As Jerry," says the historian, "had those requisites which generally please the fair sex, he won the affections of the daughter of Cromwell; but as nothing of this sort could happen without the knowledge of the watchful father, who had his spies in every place and about every person, it soon reached his ears. There were as weighty reasons for rejecting Jerry as there had been for dismissing his majesty; Oliver therefore ordered the informer to observe and watch them narrowly, and promised, that upon substantial proof of the truth of what he had declared, he should be as amply rewarded as Jerry should be severely punished."

It was not long before the informer acquainted his highness that the chaplain was at that moment with the lady; and upon hastening to his daughter's apartment, he discovered the unfortunate Jerry upon his knees, kissing her ladyship's hand. The Pro-

tector hastily exclaimed, "What is the meaning of this posture before my daughter Frances?" The chaplain with great presence of mind, replied, "May it please your highness, I have a long time courted that young gentlewoman there, my lady's woman, and cannot prevail; I was therefore humbly praying her ladyship to intercede for me." Oliver turning to the waiting-woman, said, "What is the meaning of this? He is my friend, and I expect you should treat him as such." She, desiring nothing more, replied with a low courtesy, "If Mr. White intends me that honour, I should not oppose him." Upon this Oliver said, "Well, call Goodwin; this business shall be done presently, before I go out of the room." Jerry could not retreat. Goodwin came, and they were instantly married; the bride at the same time receiving 500*l.* from the Protector.

Mr. White lived with this wife, bestowed upon him by the hero of Worcester, more than fifty years. Oldmixon says he knew them both well, and heard the story told when they were present. Jerry seemed not to relish the joke even after the lapse of half a century; but Mrs. White acknowledged that there was "something in it."*

It has been regarded as a remarkable quality in the character of Cromwell, that his mind, and even his manners, kept pace, in a great degree, with the gradual elevation of his fortune. This circumstance is noticed both by Sir Philip Warwick and by Mrs. Hutchinson, neither of whom was attached either to his person or his interests. The former, after describing the mean dress and embarrassed air of the member for Cambridge, at the first meeting of the Long Parliament, relates that he saw him at Whitehall in the full possession of regal power, when he appeared of a "majestic deportment and comely presence."—"His wife and children," says the other,

* Noble's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 151.

"were setting up for principality, which suited no better with any of them than scarlet on the ape; only, to speak the truth of himself, he had much natural greatness, and well became the place which he had usurped. His daughter Fleetwood was humbled and not exalted with these things, but the rest were insolent fools. Claypole, who married his daughter, and his son Henry, were two debauched ungodly cavaliers. Richard was a peasant in his nature, yet gentle and virtuous, but became not greatness. His court was full of sin and vanity, and the more abominable because they had not yet quite cast away the name of God, but profaned it by taking it in vain upon them. True religion was now almost lost even among the religious party, and hypocrisy became an epidemical disease, to the sad grief of all true-hearted Englishmen and Christians."*

Besides the view which Mrs. Hutchinson here presents of the Cromwellian family, she supplies to the reflecting reader an important suggestion relative to the decay of religious feeling, and which in some small measure exculpates the example of the second Charles and his court from the whole blame of introducing impiety and licentiousness. The picture which she draws of a declining age applies to the period which immediately preceded the Restoration, when "true religion was already almost lost, and hypocrisy had become an epidemical disease." The next stage, it is manifest, was necessarily that which actually followed upon the revival of monarchy; and so deep was the detestation entertained for the insincere and selfish conduct of the saints as a body, that carelessness of external piety, and even a certain degree of infidel indifference, would have ensued, whatever might have been the character of the sovereign. In fact, the tide had turned

* Hutchinson's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 208.

before Cromwell died. Even the soldiers had begun to laugh at his suspected sanctity; and hardly any one was so blind as not to see that his enthusiasm had long been subservient to his hypocrisy, and that both were now made to minister to his power as a tyrant and usurper.

II. But, leaving his private character and domestic circle, we shall now proceed to examine into the ground of his reputation as a soldier. On this head it ought to be premised, that the art of war, properly so called, demands a certain extent of means and object for the display of its resources; it being perfectly obvious, that hostilities may be conducted on a small scale without any reference to general principles either of tactics or of strategy. Were two regiments, for example, to meet on a piece of level ground, prepared to decide the fate of a nation by an appeal to arms, the result, it is manifest, would depend less on the skill of the officers than on the bodily strength, the weapons, and the courage of the men. The same remark will apply to any force under ten thousand, where the attack is made without any advantage of ground or of movement. But in all cases where armies are large, and occupy a corresponding extent of country, the success of a campaign depends chiefly on the arrangements of the general, on his able combinations, and on his full command of all the means, physical and moral, which are placed within his reach. In such circumstances only, the art of war would have a field in which to exemplify its powers and expedients. But during the contest between the king and the parliament, as well as in the second struggle between the royalists and the republicans, the armies actually engaged were usually small; and hence they never had recourse to any other means for securing victory besides steady firing and a furious charge. On the contrary, the rival forces met one another like individuals about to engage in personal combat. A

Edgehill, for instance, the royal army descended into the valley to accommodate their adversaries with convenient ground. At Naseby a similar piece of complaisance was practised. Charles was induced to relinquish a most favourable position, and to march his troops two miles across a plain, in order to meet Fairfax, who did not come up quite so soon as had been expected.

The mode of attack, too, corresponded in its simplicity to this inartificial style of tactics. Each army rushed upon the other with the utmost impetuosity; and it usually happened that the right wing of the one drove back the left wing of its antagonist, and produced for the moment a mutual victory and a mutual defeat. At Marston-moor, the two lines penetrated each other so completely, that when they recovered from the confusion of the shock, the royalists found themselves drawn up on the ground where the parliamentarians had stood before the charge. Such onsets resembled the motions of a dance, where the parties change sides and face about, prepared to repeat a similar evolution. The same errors were committed in every general action that was fought during the war; and the king lost the three battles of Edgehill, York, and Naseby, by allowing his headstrong nephew, Prince Rupert, to persevere in his mode of suspending the success of a battle upon one dash of his spirited cavalry.

In such circumstances, where common prudence was despised, it is absurd to speak of the art of war Cromwell indeed saw the errors of the opposite party, and turned them to his own advantage; but in this, so far from displaying any extraordinary knowledge of tactics, he merely showed that he was not destitute of the vulgar sagacity of a trooper. Rupert ought never to have risen to a higher command than that of a regiment of horse; for he possessed no acquaintance with the principles of his profession, and he was too proud, or too obstinate,

to profit by experience. The merit, therefore, of the new men who triumphed over experienced soldiers, must be measured with due attention to the circumstances in which they were brought into the field. The science acquired in Germany was of little use in commanding small and comparatively undisciplined armies; and therefore, from the issue of the contest in which Oliver rose to fame, we are not to conclude that the art of war does not receive improvement from reflection and study.

Were we, then, to form a judgment of Cromwell's qualities as a soldier from his actual conduct in war, we should say that he was a brave man rather than a great general. He was usually found charging at the head of his cavalry, both when he led a single troop, and also when he had risen to the rank of commander-in-chief. In point of discipline and spirit, he had brought his horsemen to a degree of excellence which could not be surpassed; and the confidence which they felt in their captain, and in one another, rendered an onset of the *Ironsides* in most cases synonymous with victory. From the first skirmish, indeed, in which he was engaged, down to his "crowning" success at Worcester, he appears to have trusted more to strength of hand, than to skilful movements or deep-laid stratagems. In proof of this remark we may observe, that wherever he was opposed to experienced commanders, his inferiority in the art of moving large bodies of men, to secure an advantage without fighting, was strikingly manifested. For example, when he invaded Scotland, in the year 1650, he was completely checked by David Lesley, who, at the head of an army in no respect equal to the veterans with whom he had to contend, successfully defended the metropolis against the hero of Naseby, and at length, by the resources of mere generalship, compelled him to retreat towards the borders. At Dunbar, it is true, the fanatical preachers forced the Scottish

leader, in opposition to his judgment and intentions, to attack the invader, and by that means afforded to the superior soldiers of the latter an opportunity of gaining a most decided advantage over the raw levies of the northern hosts. But it is manifest, notwithstanding, that, so far as we can estimate the professional talents of the two commanders, Cromwell was not equal to his antagonist, who had spent many years in foreign service, and studied the tactics of the finest armies in Europe.

The same conclusion will be drawn from an examination of the campaign which terminated in the sanguinary conflict at Worcester. So far from being able to bring the war to a close in Scotland, Cromwell allowed the royal army to pass him, and even to gain two marches in advance towards the frontier, before he was aware of Charles's intention to carry the scene of hostilities beyond the Tweed. In ordinary circumstances, such an oversight would have proved fatal to his character and to his cause; but his activity and good fortune again saved him. After a pursuit of four hundred miles, he overtook the royalists, and in a battle remarkable only for its confusion and bloodshed, he once more proved the superiority of his arms. It is clear, however, that it was only in the rush of the fight that Cromwell excelled; and that in every case where knowledge of ground, position, movement, and in short the whole art of strategy, are concerned, his reputation does not rest upon a solid basis. His conduct in the retreat to Dunbar, in particular, betrayed much ignorance of the country through which he was passing; and hence he found himself so completely hemmed in, unable either to proceed further or to bring the enemy to action, that, as has been already remarked, he had resolved to sacrifice his baggage and artillery, to send his infantry round to Berwick by sea, and then, at the head of his cavalry, to cut a passage through the Scottish lines. The impatient enthusi-

asm of the preachers was of more avail to Cromwel than a reinforcement of 10,000 men. They blame their general for being slow to strike, and notwith standing his remonstrances that all was sure wher they remained, but that all might be lost when they engaged in battle, they ordered their army to qui the hills, and to attack the sectaries in the plain The parliamentary chief, aware of his approaching advantage, and certain that the discipline of his troops would compensate for his false tactics, ex claimed, when he saw Lesley's brigades descending towards the pass, "The Lord hath delivered them into our hands!"

It must not be denied that Cromwell possessed a quality in the highest degree valuable in a military leader—the power of influencing the minds of his soldiers, of kindling their ardour, and, above all, of directing their most impetuous feelings to the accomplishment of his own purposes. He knew full well the bent of their prejudices, and the deep hold which religious sentiment had taken of their minds; and accordingly, in all his addresses, prayers, and ejaculations, he never failed to rouse the emotions which were most suitable to the cause which he had in hand. A fine instance of this was given at Dunbar, when he lifted up his arm and exclaimed, "Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered!" This happy quotation operated on the spirits of his followers as if they had heard a voice from heaven. The "sun of Austerlitz!" the well-known expression with which Bonaparte hailed the first appearance of the solar orb on the morning of a decisive engagement, wanted the magnificent and soul-stirring associations which were awakened in the enthusiastic bosoms of Cromwell's veterans at Down-hill.

No man, in short, ever surpassed the latter chief in the art by which the most powerful energies of the human mind are drawn forth, and directed like a whirlwind for the accomplishment of good or of evil.

These two commanders have, indeed, been compared in several points, and a parallel has been attempted between their characters and histories; but in respect of military qualities, there is unquestionably no resemblance whatever. The Corsican excelled in the arrangement and combination of a campaign, where more than 100,000 men were to be marshalled on either side, in the midst of garrisons, posts, and fortified cities; and where ultimate success depended more upon the calculations by which scattered bodies of troops were concentrated at a given point in the moment of attack, and before the enemy could assemble his several corps, than upon mere physical strength in the combatants, or personal exertion on the part of their leader. The Englishman, on the other hand, had no inducement, and, indeed, no opportunity, to study war on so grand a scale, or in reference to the same means of securing victory. His plans never seem to have extended beyond the field where he encountered his foe; whom, too, he usually defeated, not by a movement to endanger his position, or to cut off his retreat, not by a demonstration which might disconcert his designs or compel him to change his ground, but by a furious charge in the name of the Lord of Hosts, or by an obstinate courage which no difficulties could subdue. In truth, there was very little generalship displayed on either side during the whole course of the civil war; and if we except the movement made by the king at Dennington Castle, there was no attempt hazarded to aid valour by skilful manœuvring.

It has been remarked, as a circumstance peculiar to the Cromwellian period, that the officers in the English regiments thought it a part of their duty to preach, while the ministers in Scotland insisted upon being allowed to handle the sword, and to direct the movements of the army. Both were chargeable with presumption, and in the end proved

their incapacity for such extra-professional pursuits. The folly of the ministers was visited with a tremendous defeat; and the fanaticism of the military was punished by their being made the instrument of a most oppressive despotism in the person of their master, who had the talent to render their phrensy subservient to the purposes of his ambition. With this view, Oliver was wont to maintain, that the officer who prayed best would fight best; but none knew better that such a combination of gifts was not fitted for ordinary times, and that, moreover, to succeed in the field of battle, it is necessary to meet the opposing army with equal skill, and with superior weapons and discipline.

The Irish campaign exhibits Cromwell in a very unfavourable point of view. As the enemy did not long keep the open field, the war was chiefly confined to the reduction of strong places, many of which were taken by storm, and the garrisons put indiscriminately to the sword. By this barbarity he perhaps gratified the religious hatred of his soldiers, who were not less incensed against the natives as members of the Romish Church than as rebels against the authority of parliament. He professed, indeed, to avenge the cruelties of the massacre perpetrated seven or eight years before upon the Protestants of Ireland; but his real object, there can be no doubt, was, as has been already suggested, to terrify all the fortified towns into submission, and to accelerate the conquest of the whole country during the season most convenient for military operations. In this respect he exemplified a policy similar to that of the late Russian General Suwarrow; who, after putting 30,000 men and women to death, because they dared to defend their walls, proclaimed everywhere the humanity of his proceeding. But we have done with the military character of Cromwell, and go on, in the next place, to consider his merits as a statesman and ruler.

III. The origin of the Protector's power as a politician may be traced to the masterly scheme which first excited against Essex and the Earl of Manchester the suspicions of the republican party in the Lower House, and afterward paved the way for the Self-denying ordinance. The aristocratical commanders, it has been stated, had already begun to perceive that the influence of their order was gradually diminishing in parliament as well as in the army, and hence to discover the expediency of listening to terms of peace with the king, from whose dignity their titles and privileges derived their sole support. The partisans of democracy, at the same time, saw the danger to which their favourite plan of government, and even their personal safety, must be exposed, were the sovereign to be reinstated, without sufficient restrictions on his prerogative; for which reason they determined to withstand every proposal for negotiation with Charles, except on such a footing as they knew he would not admit as the basis of any permanent arrangement. They were sensible, moreover, that their plan could not be effected as long as the army should continue under the command of noblemen, whose interests, they imagined, were incompatible with those of the great body of the people. No expedient, therefore, was so likely to realize their views as a law prohibiting all members of parliament from holding offices under government; because such a measure necessarily excluded all the peers from appointments in the public service, while it left to the representatives of counties and boroughs the option of resigning their seats, should they prefer a command in the army to a vote in the house.

Some authors have been so simple as to imagine that Cromwell, when he suggested the Self-denying ordinance, meant himself to submit to its requisitions, and retire from the army. Nothing could be more inconsistent with such a supposition than the con-

duct which he actually pursued. He was sent ou of the way when the other officers holding seats were called upon to resign; and one pretence after another was urged for his continuance with the forces, until he acquired the command both of the soldiers and of the parliament, and could, when he pleased, set the authority of the latter at defiance. From this period, it is very obvious, he kept steadily in view the great objects which he afterward accomplished; namely, the ascendency of the Independents, the extinction of royalty, and the establishment of a military despotism. Hence his scheme of new-modelling the army, which placed the power of the sword in the hands of his religious friends; and hence, too his determination to seize the person of the king in order to prevent any amicable arrangement with the parliament or the Presbyterians. All his measures bore on these leading points; and to bring them to a favourable issue, he hesitated not to deceive the general under whom he served; to make protestations at irreconcileable variance with his most fixed intentions; and even to disguise the truth from his own family and most intimate friends.

But my object here is not to unfold the means by which he arrived at power; it is rather to describe the manner in which he exercised it, when there was no longer any one to dispute his pretensions. It may be said, then, of Cromwell, on general grounds, that he was a man of expedients, and not of principles; that, in every case, he acted according to his views of immediate advantage, and without anticipating the remoter effects of any particular measure, however closely connected with the usual policy and permanent interests of the nation; and, moreover, that he sometimes yielded to the impulse of personal feelings, when he ought to have sacrificed every thing to the public welfare.

It cannot be denied that his administration was

vigorous, and that he compelled the most powerful nations of the continent to respect his government and even to court his alliance. But the strength with which he was armed, was created almost entirely by the Long Parliament, more especially the efficient marine, which enabled him to wrest from the Dutch the empire of the sea, and to inspire awe into the courts of France and Spain. The apprehensions, so naturally entertained by the founders of the commonwealth, of a descent upon their shores from the opposite coast, guided them to the wise policy of forming a navy; and so fortunate were they in the appointment of officers, that the exploits performed during the war with Holland were of so brilliant a character, as hardly to be surpassed by the more decisive victories gained on the same element in our own days.

The policy of the contest, however, was not as creditable to the reputation of Cromwell, as the success with which it was conducted. Surrounded by strong and ambitious monarchs, the United Provinces were in danger of being overrun, and of being thereby rendered subordinate to those very countries from which England has ever had the most to fear. Hence, it had usually appeared to the more enlightened of English statesmen, a matter of expediency to preserve the independence of Holland, and more especially from the period at which the acquisition of so rich a territory either by Louis or Philip, must have destroyed the balance of power in the south of Europe. The Protector was further blamed by the economists of his own age, for not deriving, from his success over the Dutch, the commercial advantages to which they maintained he had a just right in virtue of his conquests. But in this particular I can see no ground for blame. He resolved to limit the mercantile transactions of that active people, so far at least, as to prevent them from interfering with the prosperity of the shipping interests of his own do

minions. For this purpose he procured the enactment of the celebrated Navigation Laws; by which it was provided that no goods should be imported into Great Britain, except in ships belonging to British subjects, or in the vessels of the country where the commodities were produced. By this measure, he at once withdrew from the Dutch the lucrative employment of carrying by sea the mercantile property of the richest nations of Europe, while he secured for the ship-owners of his native land a considerable addition to their gains both at home and abroad.

The French alliance, and the war with Spain, were very unpopular in his own days, and the experience of more recent times has contributed not a little to establish the impolicy of those measures. Both countries flattered him, and each was willing to give a high price for his co-operation. His choice has been pronounced wrong, on the ground not less of principle than of advantage.*

He was on the point of committing a similar solecism in his negotiation with Sweden and Denmark. From an inexplicable partiality towards the former country, he had resolved upon its aggrandizement at

* "In this dishonest war with Spain," says a contemporary writer, "he pretended, and endeavoured to impose a belief upon the world, that he had nothing in his eye but the advancement of the *Protestant cause*, and the *honour* of this nation; but his pretences were either fraudulent, or he was ignorant in foreign affairs. For he that had known any thing of the temper of the Popish prelacy, and the French court politics, could not but see that the way to increase, or preserve, the *reformed* interest in France, was by rendering the Protestants of necessary use to their king; for that longer than they were so, they could not be free from persecution; and that the way to render them so, was to keep the balance between Spain and France even, as that which would consequently make them useful to their king. But by overthrowing the balance in his war with Spain, and joining with France, he freed the French king from the fears of Spain, enabled him to subdue all factions at home, and thereby to bring himself into a condition of not standing in need of any of them; and from thence hath proceeded the persecution that hath since been, and still is, in that nation, against the Reformed there; so that Oliver, instead of advancing the Reformed interest, hath by an error in his politics, been the author of destroying it."—*Harleian Miscellany*, vol. i. p. 281.

the expense of the latter; intending, as it was supposed, to bestow on the successor of Christina, the whole of Norway, as well as the Danish territory southward of the Baltic, and to reserve for himself the Castle of Elsineur, and a few of the adjacent islands. This arrangement would, in those days, have rendered Sweden extremely formidable, and placed in her hands the navigation of the Baltic, both shores of which must have acknowledged her sovereignty in peace and in war. "And whereas," says an intelligent author, "it had in all ages been the policy of the northern states to keep the dominion of the Baltic divided among several petty princes, that no one might be sole master of it; because otherwise, most of the necessary commodities for shipping coming from thence and Norway, any one lord of the whole might lay up the shipping of Europe by the wall, in shutting only of his ports, and denying the commodities of his country to other states. Cromwell, contrary to this wise maxim, endeavoured to put the whole Baltic Sea into the hands of the Swedes, and undoubtedly would have done it, if his death had not given them who succeeded him an opportunity of prudently preventing it."*

Still there is no doubt that the character of England, for strength and a vigorous administration, stood very high during the government of the Protector; on which account, if we cannot praise the wisdom of his policy, we are at least bound to admire the commanding attitude which he assumed, in the face of the proudest and most powerful nations of Europe. He intimidated Spain into concessions favourable to the trade of Britain; maintained against the Dutch the superiority of the English flag; and procured from the French the relinquishment of Dunkirk, and the banishment of the royal exiles, as

* Harleian Miscellany, vol. i. p. 282.

the price of his alliance in a continental war. It is true, that he thereby raised the power of the last named people to a height which soon afterward threatened the independence of several European states, and occasioned, even to this country, the loss of much blood and treasure; but so far as we consider the effect of his counsels upon the reputation of his personal government, there can be no question that he created for himself a degree of influence and glory, among surrounding kingdoms, much greater than had been possessed by any British monarch since the reign of Henry the Eighth.

"Some modern politicians," says Bishop Warburton, in his Notes on Clarendon's History, "have affected to think contemptuously of Cromwell's capacity, as if he knew not that true policy required that he should have thrown himself into the lighter balance, which was that of Spain; or, as if he did not know which was become the lighter. But this is talking as if Cromwell had been a lawful hereditary monarch, whom true policy would have thus directed. But true policy required that the usurper should first take care of himself, before he busied himself in adjusting the balance of Europe. Now France, by its vicinity, was the most dangerous power to disoblige, as well as by the near relationship of the two royal families of France and England. So that, though Cromwell gave out, that which of the two states would give most for his friendship should have it, in order to raise the price, he was certainly determined in himself that France should have it."

The statement of the learned bishop only goes to confirm the opinion which we have all along entertained, that Cromwell, in his foreign policy, pursued temporary expedients rather than general principles, and valued a present advantage more highly than a lasting benefit.

But his domestic administration was not so creditable, either to his wisdom or to his honesty, as eve-

his transactions with foreign potentates. He had indeed a difficult part to act, being surrounded by men who regarded his elevation as the overthrow of their own fond schemes of government, and as the proof of his deceit and selfishness. But he added not a little to the embarrassment of his situation by making professions on which he never intended to act, and by exciting hopes which from the first he meant to disappoint. When he assumed the direction of affairs, he had to sustain the opposition of three great parties, all of whom hated and feared him—the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, and the republicans. These last, by means of whom he had risen to power, were his most inveterate enemies, because he had not only deceived them in the matter dearest to their hearts, but was now menacing them with the very evil which they had suffered so much to remove—namely, the government of a single person. Even the army, upon which he had his chief reliance, was become very unmanageable. The enthusiasm which pervaded the lower classes of the soldiery had fitted them for the greatest extravagances; while the officers, whom he had found it necessary to dismiss, were ready to engage in any plot for his destruction. The Presbyterians, again, who were determined to establish their covenant and church polity in the south, as well as in the north, were incensed against Cromwell for giving his countenance to the Independents, and for rejecting the scheme of discipline recommended by the Westminster Assembly. The churchmen, finally, who were in general royalists, were opposed to him on the ground of his usurpation and intolerance, and eagerly watched for an opportunity to precipitate him from the eminence which, in their opinion, he had so unworthily ascended.

From these elements of danger, however, he had the talent to evoke a spirit which, for a certain time at least, proved the main guardian of his throne.

By the various arts of flattery and intimidation, he continued to subdue the more violent individuals in the three great parties opposed to him, while he excited their jealousy of one another to such a pitch, that their suspicions of his ultimate designs were lost amid the deeper mistrust created by their own rival pretensions. He acted successfully on the Machiavelian principle, of ruling by fomenting mutual fears and hatred; knowing well that the great body of the nation was against him, and hence that the union of any two factions must have instantly led to his ruin. Towards the close of his days he even condescended to court the Roman Catholics, and to hold out to them the prospect of a relaxation in some of the more oppressive statutes which had been enacted against their communion. In short, to use the words of Bishop Burnet, "he with great dissimulation carried things with all sorts of people farther than was thought possible, considering the difficulties he met with in all his parliaments; but it was generally believed that his life and all his arts were exhausted at once, and that, if he had lived much longer, he could not have held things together."

It is a remarkable fact, that he himself admitted in parliament that the great majority of the country was opposed to his government; founding upon this acknowledgment the necessity of keeping up a standing army, and of restricting the freedom of election in the different counties and boroughs where he had not friends to secure proper returns. In Goddard's Journal for the year 1654, Cromwell is represented as declaring, that in England, Scotland, and Ireland, the people were extremely disaffected, and could only be kept down by force of arms. "In general," said he, speaking of the northern division of the island, "the country was wholly very much disaffected to the present government. The Presbyterian and Cavalier interests were so compli-

cated, as he did not see how any forces there could be lessened with safety until these two interests could be satisfied, and which way to do that he did not find, they being constantly blown up by the enemies beyond seas; and the distempers there were so great as the commanders there did call for more forces, so far was it from abating any. As to the forces in England, the numbers were but few, the condition of the people such as the *major part a great deal are persons disaffected and engaged against us.*"

Lambert, too, at a somewhat later period, while attempting to defend the violence which had been put upon parliament, when about a hundred members were turned out of it for not signing the *Recognition*, remarks, "That as to keeping out the members, if such course had not been taken, consider what a parliament you might have had. If a parliament should be chosen *according to the general spirit and temper of the nation*, and if there should not be a check upon such election, those may creep into this House who may come to sit as our judges for all that we have done in this parliament, or at any other time or place. Having no rules to circumscribe parliaments, the powers must be trusted in some person, and fittest in the supreme magistrate."*

It was indeed a miserable plight into which the people of England had fallen, when they were not allowed to choose representatives but according to the pleasure of a usurper, and when the persons whom they sent to parliament were not permitted to express their sentiments on the business of the nation without incurring the hazard of expulsion or of imprisonment! They had fought for liberty and for the independence of the legislature; and in return they found themselves subjected to the caprice of a despot, who, in virtue of his military exploits had assumed the reins of government.

* Burton's Diary.

But the most tyrannical and iniquitous of all the measures with which his government stands charged, is the appointment of the major-generals, into whose hands he put the property and peace of the majority of the English people, the royalists and Episcopalians. These officers were empowered to seize the persons, and destrain the estates, of such as should prove refractory, and to put in execution such other directions as they should receive from the Protector. Every master of a family, or householder, who was considered as disaffected, was to be required to give security by his bond for the good behaviour of all his menial servants; the latter being liable to be called before the general or his deputy at such time and place as either should appoint. An office of register was to be set up in London, where the names of all persons thus giving security were to be entered, together with their residence; and as often as they changed their abode, the removal was to be punctually recorded, and notice communicated to the major-general of each district, as the case might require. They were authorized to inquire into the political principles of all ministers and schoolmasters, to the end that no disaffected persons might be allowed in public teaching, or in the education of youth.

The royalists, we are told, terrified at the extensive arrests and imprisonments which took place among their brethren, and awed by the military preparations which were made to subdue all resistance, promptly obeyed the summons of these armed justices, and for the most part yielded quietly to the assessments which were imposed upon them. There was, indeed, no hope of redress in any case, however arbitrary and tyrannical, for there was no reference allowed to any court of law; the sole appeal being reserved to the Protector in council. The generals summoned whomsoever they pleased to appear before them as delinquents; and it was dan-

gerous to slight their commands. They inquired into every man's estate and income; and if any one endeavoured to clear himself of delinquency, they assumed the privilege of pronouncing upon the validity of his defence. They sent whom they pleased to prison, and confined them where they pleased; and it has been remarked as one of the characteristics of Cromwell's government, that those who were judged to be disaffected never succeeded in their endeavours to be set at large in due course of law.

The instructions given to the major-generals are somewhat amusing, from the odd combination of duties to which their attention was drawn. They were not only to suppress all tumults, insurrections, rebellions, or other unlawful assemblies, to disarm all papists, and such as had borne arms against the parliament, and all others who were dangerous to the peace of the nation, to have an eye upon the carriage and conversation of all disaffected persons, to apprehend thieves and robbers, but also to permit *no horse-racings, cock-fightings, bear, or stage-plays*, within the several counties. In their commission the Protector adds, "and you are to observe and follow such directions as you shall from time to time receive from ourself."*

But nothing can convey so good an idea of their actions as their own accounts, which are to be found in Thurlow's papers, from which I shall here insert one or two extracts. Major-general Worsley, in a letter to the secretary just named, dated at Strafford, writes as follows: "Yesterday we had a meeting at this town, and I have made a good progress in our business. We have assessed diverse, and the rest

* It is surprising that in giving directions to disarm all who had been in arms against the parliament, Cromwell did not recollect that he had already dispersed two successive Houses at the point of the bayonet But the name of parliament was a convenient stalking-horse for conceal ing the Protector's real motives.

must expect it with all speed. I hope we shall pay our county troop out of what we have done already, and provide you a considerable sum for other uses We have sent out warrants to give notice to the whole county of our day of meeting, when we shall sit upon the ordinance for the ejecting of scandalous ministers. We have disarmed the disaffected in this county. We shall fall of snapping some of our old blades that will not let us be quiet. We have found an estate of Penruddock's that was executed, and have ordered it to be sequestrated. I hope shortly to give you a good account of the rest of the counties."*

Desborough, another of the major-generals, writes to his brother the Protector in serious terms about Lord Seymour, whom Cromwell seemed desirous to exempt from decimation, but whose spirit, the other thought, was not such as "to close cordially with the people of God." He adds, at the same time, "Yesterday we proceeded upon taxing seven or eight of this county, among whom was Sir James Thynn, who was at first a little averse, and did plead as much innocency as my Lord Seymour hath done; but at last, having no refuge, was constrained to comply; and I think of those eight that we have already dealt withal the sum will amount to six or seven hundred pounds per annum. There are four

* In the time of the Commonwealth died Major-general Worsley, a noted commander in the parliament's army, and member for Manchester. He was buried in Henry the Seventh's chapel, with an inscription to his memory. At the funeral attended as a chief mourner Roger Kenyon, of Peel Hall, Esq. and M. P. for Clitheroe, and clerk of the peace for Lancashire. A while after the funeral, Mr. Kenyon, spying an opportunity, wrote upon the grave-stone as under :—

"Where never Worse-lay."

These words so offended Cromwell that he offered a considerable sum for the discovery.

The above general is said to have been of the ancient family of the Worsleys, of Worsley, in Lancashire, whose representatives still reside at Worsley Hall, near Manchester —*MS. Note.*

more to appear this morning; and then I intend for Blandford to attend the Dorsetshire gentlemen, and so to Marlborough, where there are twenty more to be summoned."

The outcry against this intolerable oppression became so loud, that Cromwell was compelled to withdraw the commissions of his major-generals. He even sacrificed their characters to the desire of recovering some degree of popularity; and when the execration and ridicule of the country was directed against them, he joined in the shout, disowned their proceedings, and left them to their fate.

The despotism of the major-generals has been rendered memorable by the oppression which they inflicted on two distinguished individuals, John Cleveland the poet, and the still more celebrated Jeremy Taylor. The only crime alleged against the future bishop consisted in his attachment to episcopacy, and to the unfortunate house of Stuart; for which he was thrown a prisoner into Chepstow Castle, in the county of Monmouth. The satirist was arrested at Haynes, and sent to a place of confinement at Yarmouth; the reasons for which arbitrary measure were as follows:—The first was, that he lived in utter obscurity in the house of a royalist, very few persons of the neighbourhood knowing that there was such a man resident among them; the second was, that he possessed great abilities, and was able to do considerable disservice; and a third reason for his imprisonment was, that he wore good clothes, though, as he confessed, he had no estate but 20*l. per annum*, allowed him by two gentlemen, and 30*l.* by the person in whose house he resided, and whom he assisted in his studies. He would, it is said, have been released, had he possessed any property upon which the commissioners could have fixed an assessment.

But the most unjustifiable part of Cromwell's con-

duct was his interference with the courts of law and his repeated endeavours to convert the judgments of the bench into an instrument of personal revenge, or of political intimidation. The case of Colonel Lilburn is well known to every reader of history. Charged with sedition, he was tried by a London jury, from whom he obtained an honourable acquittal; and no sooner was the verdict announced to the crowd at the door than the air rang with the acclamations of thousands. The parliament, deeming his proceedings injurious to their plans, banished him by ordinance; but partly out of confidence in the professions of Cromwell to perform his engagement to the people, and partly out of his native intrepidity, he returned after the dissolution of the legislature. Cromwell, however, dreaded him no less than the parliament had done, and therefore had him arraigned for returning contrary to the ordinance by which his punishment was awarded. But Lilburn pleaded his cause with so much ability, that a jury again acquitted him, in spite of all the usurper's influence; and once more the popular voice was raised in favour of the accused. The shouts of the people on this occasion did not, however, subdue the resentment of the Protector, nor induce him to imitate the moderation which had been displayed by the parliament; on the contrary, he detained the colonel in prison till he was so far gone in a consumption that he only turned him out to die.*

The prosecution of Vane is another instance of unblushing tyranny. The publication of the "Healing Question" gave great offence to Cromwell, although, as the author asserted, it had been given in manuscript to one of the members of the council for inspection, and remained in their hands nearly a month, after which it was returned to him without

* Harleian Miscellany. vol. i. p. 285.

any comment, when it was sent to the press in the usual way, and published with the customary permission. A warrant was issued to apprehend Vane, and conduct him to Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight, where the governor was instructed to receive him as a prisoner, and not suffer any one to speak to him but in the presence of an officer. What must have been the government of a country when the first men in it were liable to such treatment! In reality, Cromwell and his council had made such abundant use of this power of arbitrary imprisonment that they became utterly insensible to the execration to which such a proceeding is justly exposed. They imprisoned men on suspicion, or without suspicion, often by way of precaution only, and set them at liberty when they pleased, or retained them as long as they pleased, without once recollecting that they committed an offence for which they owed a severe account to the community.

Upon the death of the Protector, certain prisoners in the Tower, as well as some who had been sent to Jersey and other places beyond seas, lodged a complaint against the lieutenant for false imprisonment The jailer was sent for to be examined by a committee of parliament, when, being asked by what authority he kept those persons in hold, he produced a paper, written by Oliver's own hand, to this effect :—"*Sir, I pray you seize such and such persons, and all others whom you may judge dangerous men; do it quickly, and you shall have a warrant after you have done.*"

No sooner did Cromwell find that the ordinary laws of the country could not support his tyranny, than he established high courts of justice for the trial of state delinquents; having refused to submit his charges against them to an impartial jury. Whitelock, and some other of his counsellors, entreated him to rest satisfied with the ordinary ad-

ministration of justice, and to confide the interests of the government to the patriotism of the people, but, convinced as he was that the great majority of the nation were opposed to his usurpation, he declared his determination to support his power by using the very instruments which had given the only just cause of offence in former reigns. Nay, he far exceeded the arbitrary spirit which animated the declamations of James, and which alienated the lovers of freedom in the earlier years of his son. For example, the oppression attempted by Cromwell in the case of Cony, a London merchant, surpasses the most illegal stretches of prerogative in the days of Elizabeth, or of her immediate successor. The trader now named had refused to pay certain duties on the goods which he imported, on the ground that they were not imposed by a competent authority. For this offence he was brought before the commissioners of customs, and condemned in a fine of five hundred pounds. Refusing to pay this penalty, he was committed to prison for contempt. In the prospect of a trial, he retained three of the most eminent counsel at the bar,—Maynard, Twisden, and Windham,—to plead for him; and the question came to be heard on the 17th of May, 1655.

This was an affair of vital importance to the government of Cromwell. An ordinance had been passed by him and his council on the 20th of March, 1654, for the continuation of the stated customs for the four succeeding years; and it was under the authority of this ordinance that the duties were at present collected. But the question was, whether those who issued this ordinance had power to make a law. It was a maxim among the professional men, that the laws of England were written statutes, acts, or edicts, enacted by the people assembled in parliament; and no maxim seemed more essential to the existence of national freedom. The power of the council to make laws hinged upon the au-

thority of the record called the Government of the Commonwealth. But if brought into a court of justice, what was this record? It was a document prepared by the council of the army, and sanctioned by the principal officers of state. This could not for a moment stand the scrutiny of men bred in the technical habits of the courts, as being of force to change the essential *dicta* of the English constitution. It was a terrible dilemma into which Cromwell was driven by this case of Cony; and it required equal prudence and firmness to extricate himself from it without mortal injury. If he gave way, and if Cony came off victorious in the contest, his government was at an end; or, to speak more accurately, it would from that time forward have been a government of violence and of military force only. Every one, encouraged by the example of Cony, would have resisted such taxation, and defended their resistance on the same grounds that he did.*

Cony's counsel appear to have done full justice to the case of their client; and Maynard in particular used such arguments, and enforced them with such vigour, as, if attended to, would have shaken the government to its basis. The cause was argued on the 17th of May; and on the morrow the lawyer just named, and his fellow-pleaders, were sent to the Tower on the charge of having held language destructive to the existing government. Nor did the case end here. The day following, Cony, unsupported by counsel, presented himself at the bar of the upper bench, and did such justice to the situation in which he was placed, that Rolle, who presided in the court, felt utterly at a loss what to determine. Owing to a slight grammatical inaccuracy in Cony's answer addressed to the Protector, the decision was postponed, and his next appearance being on the last day of the term, *the affair was*

* Godwin's Commonwealth, vol. iv.

ordered to stand over till the following one. In the mean time, Rolle represented to Cromwell the difficulties under which he laboured in such a manner, that he received his writ of ease on the 7th of June; and in the following week Glyn was appointed to succeed him as lord-chief-justice of England. Maynard, Twisden, and Windham had previously, on their submission, been discharged from confinement; and, by some means employed it was thought at the instance of the new judge, Cony was induced to withdraw his cause from court altogether.

The liberties of Englishmen were certainly reduced to a very low ebb, when lawyers were dragged from the bar to prison for no other offence than a professional exposition of the principles of the constitution, and a faithful discharge of their duty to a client whose property and life were at stake. But Cromwell did not think it enough to intimidate counsel and dismiss judges, when they showed that their regard for law and honour was superior to their love for his service; he even attempted to poison the very sources of equity, by interposing the weight of his authority in the nomination of juries. The firmness of Sir Matthew Hale on one memorable occasion stands on record as a proof of that judge's integrity, and of the baseness which already stained the character of the Protector. He understood that Cromwell had ordered a jury to be returned for a trial in which he was more than ordinarily concerned; and upon this information he examined the sheriff, who said he knew nothing about it, for that it was his practice to refer all such things to the under-sheriff. Having next asked the latter concerning it, he found that the jury had actually been returned by order of the Protector; upon which Sir Matthew showed the statute, that all juries ought to be returned by the sheriff or his lawful officer; and this not having been done, according to law, he dis-

missed the jury, and would not try the cause Cromwell was highly incensed at him for this decided step, and on his return from the circuit, told him in anger that he was not fit to be a judge; to which all the answer made by the latter was, "It is very true."

Every reader, therefore, will agree with Mr. Hallam, when he says, that he cannot echo the praises that have been showered upon Cromwell for the just administration of the laws under his dominion. That between party and party the ordinary civil rights of men were fairly dealt with, is no extraordinary encomium; and it may be admitted that he filled the bench of justice with able lawyers, though not so considerable as those of the reign of Charles the Second; but it is manifest, that so far as his own authority was concerned, no hereditary despot, proud in the crimes of a hundred ancestors, could more have spurned at every limitation than this soldier of a commonwealth.*

All allusion was now gone as to the pretended benefits of the civil war. It had ended in a despotism, compared to which all the illegal practices of former kings, all that cost Charles his life and crown appeared as dust in the balance. For what was ship money, a general burden, when set by the side of the Cromwellian decimation of a class, the royalists, whose offence had long been expiated by a composition, and effaced by an act of indemnity? Or were the excessive punishments of the star-chamber so odious as the capital executions inflicted without trial by peers, whenever it suited the usurper to erect his high courts of justice? Hence we find that the government of the Protector was universally unpopular; and the sense of present evils not only excited a burning desire to live again under the ancient monarchy, but obliterated, especially in the

* Constitutional Hist. vol. ii. p. 343.

new generation that had no distinct remembrance of them, the apprehension of its former abuses. The tyranny of Cromwell, and his contempt of law, contributed more than the army of General Monk to place Charles the Second on the throne of his father.

IV. The character of Cromwell, as connected with the profession and support of religion, is obscured with much apparent contradiction. His conduct, particularly towards the end of his career, was so utterly inconsistent with correct views of Christian obligation, and even of common honesty, that he has been very generally charged with profound dissimulation in all matters which respect doctrinal tenets and spiritual influences. One of the most learned Presbyterians of the age called him a *traitorous hypocrite;* and it was the opinion of Burnet, supported by the judgment of Wilkins and Tillotson, that the enthusiast and the dissembler mixed so equally in the greater part of his actions, that it was not easy to tell which was the prevailing character. But tha he had at no period of his life a sincere feeling towards religion, it would be uncandid, and perhaps unjust, to deny; although, that he finally employed his knowledge of religious terms, and the reputation which he had acquired as a saint, to deceive weaker men than himself, and thereby to promote his secular interests, there cannot be, among reasonable persons, the smallest room for doubt.

Originally, the religious feelings of Cromwell appear to have arisen from that ardent enthusiasm which constituted the basis of his character, and which greatly modified all the actions of his maturer years. He lived at a period when seriousness and a deep interest in spiritual inquiries had already distinguished a large class of the English people, who, from the very first, connected the desire of ecclesiastical reform with certain vague notions of improvement in the political condition of society. The

interests of religion and those of civil freedom were so intimately mixed, that it is difficult to determine, in many cases, which of the two gave rise to the other; for, in the course of the war which ensued between the king and the parliament, some of the leading men became fanatics in the cause of liberty without any regard to faith, while others sank all worldly considerations in the exalted hope of seeing the reign of Christ literally established upon earth. Cromwell shared with those around him the spirit of the age. He became religious, without having acquired any clearer views of divine truth or of moral obligation on which to found the practice of good living; but solely, it would appear from the result, because theological concerns were the engrossing subject at that particular time, and were better fitted than any other to give full exercise to the powers of an ardent and rather capacious mind. Perhaps the comparative laxity of his habits in youth may have rendered the change somewhat more sudden and complete than it would otherwise have proved; still, it is extremely probable, that, from his connexions, his rank in society, and the influence of example, he would, at all events, have taken his place among the professors of religion, considered merely as a great and powerful party.

Nothing puzzles the mental physiologist more than the attempt to account for those epidemical affections which from time to time take hold of society. The bodily frame, in like manner, is subject to the inroad of morbid humours, the origin of which is equally unaccountable on any principle recognised by the most learned physicians; but, in both cases, it is observed that, when the disease does appear, there are certain constitutions which are sure to be infected. In that respect, the minds and the bodies of men bear a great resemblance. If we were allowed to extend the empire of fashion to so serious a thing as religion, we should be supplied with a

term at least whereby to express a change, which often claims an authority no higher than that of mere imitation: And, accordingly, when any particular class of men and women become serious, we should have no greater difficulty in explaining the phenomenon, than when we find a new taste for poetry or any other of the fine arts prevailing among that numerous order of society, whose taste and judgment are guided by a few ambitious leaders. That such periodical currents of innovation and caprice do occasionally invade the religious sentiments, especially after they have been some time stagnant, is a fact proved by history and experience; and if any farther evidence were required to establish, beyond all doubt, that those movements have been produced and prolonged in minds where there was no deep feeling of divine responsibility, I should refer, with the utmost confidence, to the annals of the commonwealth, and to the lives of those individuals who figured most prominently during its troubled events.

On this head, the memoirs written by Mrs. Hutchinson are invaluable; for, as she herself belonged to the religious party, her evidence cannot be impeached, while, as a woman, she marked with a penetrating eye the hypocrisy and deceit which prevailed among the godly around her. Some of her individual pictures of this kind are very striking; but, although drawn by a lady of rank and accomplishments, the colouring is too strong for the more delicate eye of modern times. I allude to the character of Sir John Gell, and other officers who figured in Nottinghamshire and the neighbouring counties But a few hypocrites, I admit, must not be held sufficient to justify suspicion against a whole body of professors. She informs us, however, that the *affectation* of religion was very general, and that, when puritanism grew into a faction, men and women distinguished themselves by habits, looks, and words,

without either relinquishing vanity or embracing real sobriety; and she adds, that the quickness with which they forsook those things, when they had gained their purpose by them, "showed that they never took them up for conscience." Such professions, she remarks, "gilded not a temple of grace, but a tomb, which only held the carcass of religion." As to the term Roundhead, it was, she maintained, very ill applied to her husband, "who, having naturally a very fine thickset head of hair, kept it clean and handsome, so that it was a great ornament to him; although the godly of those days, when he embraced their party, would not allow him to be religious, because his hair was not in their cut, nor his words in their phrase, nor such little formalities altogether fitted to their humour, who were, many of them, so weak as to esteem rather for these insignificant circumstances than for solid wisdom piety, and courage." I have already quoted her observation relative to the decay of piety immediately after the death of Oliver. The court of Richard, she assures us, was full of sin and vanity, which was the more abominable because they had not quite cast away the name of God. Nay, she acknowledges, in words already placed before the reader, that "true religion was now almost lost even among the religious party, and hypocrisy become an epidemical disease."

It is not, therefore, either uncandid or unreasonable to conclude, that religion was a mere fashion with the greater part of the puritanical adherents of the Cromwellian government. They took it up for a purpose, and they laid it down when the purpose was accomplished. Nor will the same remarks be found inapplicable to the Protector himself. He prayed and preached as long as the fanatical spirit continued alive, either in the parliament or the army; but his object was at length discovered by both these classes of men, his arts were exposed, and all who

were honest, whether among swordsmen or senators deserted his ranks, and formed a party against him On one occasion, already mentioned, the latter remarked, that "they doubted not, as the common practice of the man had been, that the name of God and religion, and formal fasts and prayers, would be made use of to colour over the blackness of the fact," namely, the violent dissolution of the House of Commons. That he did actually employ means to impose upon the more simple of the zealots, is asserted by all the historians of the period. To men of this stamp, says Burnet, he was wont to enter into the terms of their old equality, shutting the door and making them sit down covered by him, to let them see how little he valued those distances, that for form's sake, he was bound to keep up with others. These discourses commonly ended in a long prayer. Thus, with much ado, he managed the republican enthusiasts; the other republicans, the mere lovers of civil liberty, he called the heathen, and confessed he could not so easily work upon them.*

But when his dupes at length perceived that his conduct and his assurances were utterly inconsistent, they could not refrain from suspecting his sincerity In truth, Cromwell himself, towards the close of life, had lost all confidence in his spiritual condition. He looked back with some comfort to that earlier and more innocent period when his enthusiasm reconciled to his conscience the motives even of the most ambiguous of his actions; and it was only upon being assured by his chaplain that a man once in a state of grace could never relapse into a state of mortal sin, that he could look upon death with composure. The feeling that he was "safe" was founded upon an abstract theory of dogmatic theology, and not upon the consciousness that his belief and practice exhibited any degree of concord. He fell a

* Lamont's Diary, p. 69.

victim to the deceitful responses of a most fallacious oracle; he reposed his hopes on the authority of a system which the more intelligent of its supporters acknowledge was never meant for practical purposes; and thus, if he did not die with a lie on his tongue, he unquestionably left the world, if he believed what was told him, with a false and most dangerous impression on his heart.

From the extravagance of Cromwell's chaplains we may at once form an estimate of the kind of devotion which was usually practised within the walls of the palace, and arrive at a fair conclusion respecting the doctrine which was most acceptable to its inmates. A certain ultra-Calvinism afforded to the divines of those unhappy days an opportunity for exercising their metaphysics on the most sacred subjects; in the course of which discussions, they generally contrived to dissolve all connexion between the conduct and the hopes of the human being, and to rest his character and destination on the secret decrees of his Maker. The Protector, it is true, did not form the theological system of his age, nor perhaps understand it in its full import and bearing; but he unquestionably gave encouragement to the most dangerous speculations on all points of doctrine, and countenanced the greatest abuses in external worship. Christianity in short, sustained a violent attack from the heroes of the commonwealth; and in reviewing their conduct, every candid reader must acknowledge that the sincerity of their intentions, when they were sincere, makes but a small compensation for the absurdity of their opinions, and the coarse buffoonery of their manner in the exercise of its most solemn duties.

It is a melancholy truth, that the human mind is never more grievously deceived than in the discharge of religious obligations in all cases where the conscience is influenced by habit, by fashion, or by a mere regard to established usages. When Queen

Henrietta Maria first came over to England, she pronounced that the subjects of her husband had no religion at all; and her opinion rested upon this particular circumstance, that the Protestant ritual does not demand those frequent and regulated acts of devotion which, in Roman Catholic countries, are associated with certain hours of the day and even of the night. To supply her majesty and her female attendants with a form, which might at once indulge their pious propensities, and avoid the scandal of popery in his court, the king inquired of Bishop Juxon, whether he could not select from the reformed liturgies such a manual as would answer the two purposes just stated. Henrietta had identified religion with her periodical genuflexions, and with a decent repetition of the authorized addresses to Heaven and to all the powers therein. Cromwell and his Independents, meanwhile, declared that the queen and her ladies had neither faith nor worship to recommend their church. The true nature of religion, as it existed in his mind, was manifested by long extemporaneous addresses, in the way of prayers and sermons, pronounced in a barn, or at the head of a regiment; the meaning of which no human intellect could comprehend, and which, generally speaking, were most useful when they were least understood.

The religion of Oliver, however, ardent and spiritual as it was, proved perfectly compatible with his intention to deceive and murder his sovereign; while the devotions of her majesty, if Bishop Warburton is to be believed, did not prevent her from practising against his sacred person and honour a heavy treason of a different kind. So little reliance is to be placed upon the external indications of piety! Nay, so inconsistent a creature is man, that experience has taught the discerning to be suspicious of those who carry much of their religion on the outside of their characters. Among the Turks it is a maxim

of prudence "never to trust a brother who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca;" and this practical wisdom of the Moslem will not be hastily called in question by such Christians as have had daily intercourse with that class of men, who appeal every hour to the omniscience of heaven, and to the testimony of their own conscience.*

Viewing the matter more closely in reference to Cromwell, it is difficult to believe that a truly pious man could have committed the cruelties of which he was guilty. On all occasions, indeed, he set very little value on human life. His massacres in Ireland have left an indelible stain upon his reputation; but the slaughter which he committed in cold blood on his unfortunate prisoners, did not display his indifference for the souls and bodies of human beings more decidedly than his practice of sending thousands to the colonies as slaves.† No concern for their spiritual interests seems ever to have touched his feelings. It was his rule to take all towns by storm, rather than lose time by a tedious siege; regardless alike of the bloodshed which necessarily followed such a determination, and of the fate of those immortal beings who were thereby

* The slang of the puritans, which in some instances was equally offensive to taste and to honesty, gave rise, as extremes produce each other, to much of the profanity which disgraced the language of the cavaliers. Mrs. Hutchinson, when interceding for her husband, said to a man in power, immediately after the Restoration, "I pray let my friends but do their endeavours for me, and then let it be as God will." He, smiling at her, replied, "*It is not now as God will, but as we will.*"—Vol. ii. p. 281

† The sufferings of Ireland stand on a record which cannot be questioned. A letter from the commissioners of that country, Fleetwood, Ludlow, Corbet, and Jones, dated at Dublin, 22d July, 1653, and laid before parliament in the following month, states as follows:—"Of the enemy, 20,000 lately transported, and about 7000 now transporting into foreign nations; many counties are without inhabitants, and the whole country miserably wasted and destroyed."

It is well known, too, that Cromwell ordered a thousand young women to be impressed in Ireland, and sent to one of the West India islands of which he was desirous to extend the population. He shipped a greater number from the port of London; but the latter it is presumed, were either convicts or volunteers.

sent into eternity. A a mere soldier, his plan was perhaps the better one: and the success which attended his arms, may be adduced to prove that his judgment was as sound as his nerves were strong. But our credulity is insulted when we are required to believe that a commander, who lavished the lives of men, in cases where a capitulation might have saved them, was, in his usual habits of thought, influenced by a pious regard to the everlasting welfare of his fellow-creatures. Our indignation, too, is inflamed when we read the insincere despatches of Cromwell after his most sanguinary exploits. At Bristol, for example, where he had prevailed upon Fairfax to assault the fortifications, he writes to the parliament that "faith and prayer had obtained the city for them." The battle of Dunbar, in like manner, he assured his masters, was won by the "power of believing, which is the gift of God."

His constant hypocrisy, too, in the ordinary affairs of life, justifies, in some degree, the suspicion that he was not sincere in his religious professions. "If craft be wisdom, and dissimulation wit—assisted with and improved by hypocrisies and perjuries—I must not deny him to have been singular in both: but so gross was the manner in which he made use of them, that as no wise men ought to have believed him at first, so no man was fool enough to believe him at last: neither did any man seem to do 't, but those who thought they gained as much by their dissembling as he did by his. His very actings of godliness grew at last as ridiculous as if a player, by putting on a gown, should think he represented excellently a woman, though his beard at the same time were seen by all the spectators. If you ask me why they did not hiss and explode him off the stage, I can only answer that they durst not do so, because the actors and doorkeepers were too strong for the company. I must confess, that by these arts, how grossly soever managed (as by

hypocritical praying and silly preachings, by unmanly tears and whinings, by falsehoods and perjuries even diabolical), he had the good fortune to attain his ends: but it was because his ends were so unreasonable that no human wisdom could foresee them, which made them who had to do with him believe that he was rather a well-meaning and deluded bigot, than a crafty and malicious impostor."*

It is a curious fact, that Cromwell gained ground by never appearing to move. At every stage of his progress he seemed to those around him to have already reached the highest point for which either his talents or his ambition fitted him. By others, it was observed, that he was incessantly creeping on, and that he could not be stopped; but assuredly he attained his highest elevation owing to the absence of all suspicion that he had ever raised his eyes so high.

It has been remarked, moreover, by all his biographers, that he had an unlimited command of tears, and that he could weep or pray at the shortest notice. "Had not his highness had a faculty to be fluent in his tears, and eloquent in his execrations—had he not had spungy eyes and a supple conscience—and besides, to do with people of great faith but little wit—his courage and the rest of his moral virtues had never been able so far to advance him out of the road of justice. He hath indeed found that in godliness there is great gain; and that preaching and praying well managed will obtain other kingdoms as well as that of heaven. His indeed have been pious arms, for he hath conquered most by prayers and tears."†

The anecdote preserved in the Life of Waller, who, through his mother's family was related to

* Cowley's Discourse on Oliver Cromwell.
† Killing no Murder.

Cromwell, is sufficiently characteristic of the man, and bears upon the point now under consideration.

The poet states, that he found the Protector tolerably versed in ancient history; and adds, that when any of his enthusiastic friends came to advise or consult him, he could sometimes overhear him discoursing in the cant of the times; but when he returned he would say, "Cousin Waller, *I must talk to these men in their own way*," and immediately resumed his ordinary style of conversation.

An impression unfavourable to Cromwell's religious honesty was made upon my mind by a perusal of his correspondence with the ministers of Edinburgh, after they had taken refuge in the castle. In reply to his invitation to resume their duties, they hint at the dangers with which they were menaced by his preaching cuirassiers; but add, that in their Master's cause, they were ready to spend and to be spent, to encounter all hazards, and endure all privations. In his letter to the governor, the sectarian general alludes to the apology urged by the clergymen, and marvels at their hesitation to risk any thing in their Master's cause, *as they call it*. The sneer which is conveyed in the last words, indicates with sufficient clearness the tone of mind in which he wrote his rejoinder. He believed the ministers to be insincere, and somewhat disposed to cant withal; and accordingly with the sarcastic bitterness in which one swindler exposes the fraud of another, he threw their pious phraseology back in their teeth. No professor of the profound arts of hypocrisy and dissimulation is pleased to find himself assailed with his own weapons: and it is more than probable, that if Cromwell himself had been a sincere Christian, he would not have taunted the ministers of Edinburgh with the use of an expression which can be at no time unintelligible or improper.

But it has been decided by the majority of writers, in these latter days, that the Protector earned immortal reputation by the tolerant spirit of his government towards all classes of Christians. This eulogy, however, which had no foundation in fact, is contradicted by the history of his administration from first to last. He inflicted upon the Roman Catholics and Episcopalians very severe fines and confiscations; he declared that he would not permit any Presbyterian to have a seat in his parliament; and he finally prohibited every clergyman of the Church of England, who could be accused of attachment to the royal family, from performing any of the duties of his office, and even from teaching children to read. No person who had been ejected for delinquency or scandal was, after the 1st of January, 1655, to be allowed to preach in any public place, or at any private meeting of any other persons than those of his own family, nor to administer baptism, or the Lord's Supper, nor to marry any person, nor to use the Book of Common Prayer, or the forms of prayer therein contained, upon pain of being proceeded against according to the order of his highness.*

The celebrated Usher, who was understood to have great influence with the Protector, was solicited by the Episcopal clergy to intercede for them, that they "might have the freedom of serving God in their private congregations (since they were not permitted the public churches), according to the liturgy of the Church of England; and that neither

* "I went to London when Dr. Wild preached the funeral sermon of preaching, this being the last day; after which Cromwell's proclamation was to take place, that none of the Church of England should dare either to preach or administer sacraments, teach schools, &c. on pain of imprisonment or exile. So this was the mournfullest day that in my life I had seen, or the Church of England herself since the Reformation; to the great rejoicing both of papist and Presbyter. So pathetic was his discourse, that it drew many tears from the auditory. The Lord Jesus pity our distressed church, and bring back the captivity of Zion!"—*Evelyn's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 107, 108.

the ministers nor those who frequented that service should any more be hindered or disturbed by the soldiers." Cromwell at first gave a promise that the Episcopalians should not be molested, provided they meddled not with any matters relating to his government; but afterward, having better considered of it, and advised with his council, he resolved "not to grant liberty of conscience to those sort of men who are restless and implacable enemies to him." Usher was not less grieved than disappointed. "This false man," he exclaimed, "hath broken his word with me, and refuses to perform what he promised: well, he will have little cause to glory in his wickedness, for he will not continue long; the king will return; though I shall not live to see it, you may: the government both in church and state is in confusion."*

It is in vain to reply, in defence of Oliver, that he persecuted the Roman Catholics and Episcopalians for their political principles, not for their religious tenets: because the proper punishment of political delinquency is political privation, ejectment from office, and disability of preferment. To prohibit men from worshipping God in a private congregation, is intolerance in the highest degree; and to visit upon the conscience an error of judgment in regard to civil policy, proves that the author of such a measure is equally destitute of enlarged views as a ruler, and of Christian principles as a believer in the gospel. But Cromwell, I admit, is not to be condemned for being ignorant of the duty and of the advantages of religious toleration. Such liberality was altogether unknown to his age; and it is only from the circumstance that the Independents, to whom he joined himself, rejected the principle of an established church, properly so called, that his party carried with it an air of greater free

* Parr's Life of Usher, p. 75

dom than belonged to the other great bodies, whose constitution and whose aims were different. In measuring the extent of the Protector's tolerance, however, let it not be forgotten, that the sects whom he excluded from power and placed under the ban of the law, constituted a large majority of the English people, the most intelligent, too, and the most opulent.

It is very probable, however, that the laws were not executed with much severity; for when he began to fix his eyes steadily on the crown, he is said to have meditated a church establishment of a more regular form than the Independent model would admit, and from which his government might receive some support. Cromwell is reported to have remarked to Wilkins, a clergyman, who married his sister, that no civil polity could have a sure foundation without a national church which adhered to it; and that he thought the people of England were capable of no constitution but Episcopacy. To this Wilkins had no doubt but the Protector would have turned, as soon as the design of his kingship was settled.*

It does not appear that Oliver had allowed his mind to be infected with the absurdities of the fifth monarchy men, of whom Harrison and some other officers were the patrons. Cromwell had indeed too much sense to expect that the English throne was about to be occupied by a divine person. He did not, it is true, undeceive them in regard to the preparations which he was supposed to be making for that supernatural event; but at length one of the military chiefs, suspecting that the Protector was making arrangements for his own elevation, remarked to the credulous Millenarians, that "if Christ did not come before Christmas, he would be too late."†

* Burnet's Own Times, vol. i. p. 110.

† In the "Connexion of Sacred and Profane History," I have endea

Considering the very absurd and fanatical sort of persons Cromwell had to deal with, some allowance must be made for his canting, at least in the way of business. The following letter from Mr. Walter Cradock to the lord-general, will be a sufficient specimen of the style adopted at that period in religious correspondence. "My heart is readie to burst oft in the weeke, not with jealousies, swellings, suspitions, or querulousness, as perhaps you may be tempted to think, but with a flood of affections, a conjunction of love, joy, delight, and earnest desire to salute you with a few unfeigned lines; all which, by three or four considerations—or, it may be, temptations—are dam'd up, as having no vent but in prayer and praises, which sometimes I make my business in a ditch, wood, or under a haymow, in your behalfe. I pray believe not any that shall say that you are lesse beloved, honoured, or remembered by the Welsh saints than ever you were, or any man is. Let not, I beseech you, your Catholique projects (though otherwise fundamentally good) seem to excuse your conscience for letting slip any particular present opportunity to serve the least saint. That renowned auncient saint, Mr. Rice Williams, of Newport, being one who hath served the state in many places, but not gained a penny therefrom, is pitched upon by the saints here a year agoe for that place of registering deeds: your favourable assistance is much desired therein by the godly of this country, in whose names I salute you in the Lord."

Even one of his generals could write in the same

voured to explain the origin of the expectation now mentioned, and to account for the embarrassments, both prophetical and chronological, in which it involved the early Fathers of the Christian Church. It is worthy of observation, that when, from whatever cause, any religious excitement is produced in the public mind, the Jewish notion of a millennium is instantly revived; and the same hopes, the same reasonings, the same follies, and the same disappointments, take their wonted round and occupy attention for a season

strain. Harrison, remarkable for his affectation in dress and love of show, and who, besides, by means not known to all the world, had accumulated 2000*l*. a year, addressed Cromwell when at the head of the army in Scotland, in these terms:—"My lord, be careful for nothing, but pray with thanksgiving, to wit, in faith. Let waiting upon Jehovah be the greatest and most considerable business you have every daie; reckon it soe, more than to eate, sleep, or counsell together. Run aside sometimes from your company and get a word with the Lord. Why should you not have three or four pretious soules alwaies standing at your elbow, with whom you might now and then turn into a corner? I have found refreshment and mercy in such a way."*

It is clear, therefore, that as far as the cant and affectation of religion were concerned, Cromwell only yielded to the bad taste of his times, and that, even in point of insincerity, he was probably equalled by thousands, who were not exposed to the same temptation to conceal their real sentiments. Even the leader of banditti is not always the greatest villain in the gang; but he must occasionally consent to humour the most bloodthirsty rascal whom he conducts through the forest, use his vulgar slang, and even endeavour to throw over their atrocious manner of life the veil of generous revenge or of noble enterprise. In such a position did the Pro-

* There is an amusing letter from Mrs. Mary Netheway, to the Lord Gen—al Cromwell, but it is too long for insertion. She begins, "Dear and Honnored Sur in the Lord; Having travelled with the pepel of God in Spretual labore, and haveing now bine a letel refreshed with God's renewed power and presents amongs the golden candlesticks, I have med bould to writ this few lynes to you, wherin I desir to bless God for his marsy to your poore soule, that was so much compast about with gret temtations. This is one thing I desir of you, to demolish thos monstres wich arr set up as ornaments in Privy garden. Truly, Sur, we stand on the sea of glase; O that we may have the harps of God in our hands, and may be in readiness when our Lord shall apear, for his apearing is near. Blessed is he that is sealed, and hath oyle in his vessel. Remember me to dere Mr. Cradock. I did hope he would have endeavoured to overthrow thous cursed monster before this," &c. &c.

tector frequently find himself at the head of his fanatical troops, and even in his council of officers. He talked with them in their own way, outwitted them with their own arguments, defeated them with their weapons; and when he met with a sensible man, like his cousin Waller, he spoke of human affairs in the ordinary language of conversation, and smiled at the dupery which he found it convenient to use. He spent his latter days, accordngly, in the constant practice of hypocrisy and dissimulation; he inflicted an outrage upon his own conscience, deceit upon all around him, and a serious injury on the interests of religion. Yet there is reason to suspect, that although he treated Goodwin and his fraternity as artful nurses treat children, or as certain idolaters demean themselves towards the images of their gods in the hour of danger, he nevertheless, occasionally opened his mind to their most pernicious errors, and even sunk under the superstitious fears which they thought it their duty to excite.

V. As to the general spirit of Cromwell's government, and the opinion which has been entertained of his views and character, it is not now necessary to enter into minute inquiries. With whatever disgust or indignation every ingenuous mind may have contemplated the successful villany of this extraordinary person, it has been found impossible to withhold from his uncommon abilities a degree of admiration. The world has given the tribute of applause to the boldness with which he planned, and the steady resolution with which he executed his measures; to the dexterity with which he availed himself of the animosity and jealousy which prevailed among the different parties: to the penetration with which he discovered the foibles of his own partisans; and to the artful policy by which he rendered them the dupes of their own interested views. His situation, in the earlier part of his career, admitted of no regular system of operations

but required such immediate exertions as were suggested at the moment by every particular occasion and in these he seldom was guilty of any oversight or let slip any opportunity to further his designs The characteristical and most prominent feature of his character was decision. Placed on a new ground, and frequently on the brink of a precipice, without any beaten path to direct him, he never hesitated in choosing his course; and in the pursuit of his objects, except the last and the highest, he rarely made a false step, or met with any considerable disappointment.*

The high tone, too, which he maintained in his intercourse with foreign nations, has had great influence in redeeming his character among Englishmen of succeeding times. His obligations to the Long Parliament have not been sufficiently taken into account; and he has, accordingly, had the credit of gaining, by his arms or counsels, the commanding position which he occupied at the beginning of his protectorate. Again, as he had ceased to be a republican, the royalists praised his wisdom in discovering the necessity of a return to the principles of the ancient government. Even the fanatics, whom he disappointed and ridiculed, permitted themselves to believe, that, had he lived longer, he would certainly have fulfilled the designs of Providence, and opened a wide path for the advancement of the saints to perpetual power. Above all, the unhappy politics of the subsequent reign afforded a contrast favourable to the vigorous administration of Cromwell: and hence his reputation has reached our days through an advantageous medium, and has even derived an increase of splendour from circumstances not essentially connected with his actions or ultimate purposes.

* For some good remarks on the character of Cromwell, see Historical View of English Government, vol. iii. p. 363, and Mr Brodie's History of the British Empire.

As long as he lived, there was a strong party who could not but hold him up to execration and contempt; those men, namely, with whom he began his course as a railer against abuses, and an avowed friend of liberty. For the sake of a little temporary and most precarious power, he scrupled not to sacrifice his principles, and betray his friends Vane, Bradshaw, Ludlow, Scot, Rich, Harrison, and Lambert, had the mortification to see the same person who, in the company of Pym and Hampden, had formed the resolution of leaving his native country rather than submit to the usurpations of the crown, not only give the lie to all his professions; but even after having put the king to death for tyranny, to come forward to public view as one of the most notorious tyrants and usurpers that the world ever beheld.

It cannot have escaped the reader, that at the very highest pitch of his power, Cromwell never had on his side more than a small fraction of the nation. He had, in fact, realized the hypothetical condition suggested in his conversation with Calamy: he had put the sword in the tenth man's hand to govern the nine. Nothing could prove the assertion now made more unanswerably than the result of all his parliaments. He could not command a majority in one of them by all the arts, whether of violence, deceit, or flattery, to which he had successive recourse. He was compelled, in order to prevent the demolition of his government, to dissolve them all. Even the Little Parliament, which proceeded, as it were, out of his own pocket, and consisted of such materials as his commanding spiri. was the most likely to mould to his purpose, was found so unmanageable, so resolute in promoting what they thought the interests of the public in opposition to those of their master, that he was obliged to snatch the reins of power out of their hands, and o denounce them to the world as a set of fanatical ots.

The unpopularity of his government is equally apparent in the necessity to which he was reduced, of denying to all state criminals the benefit of a jury. He could not trust twelve honest, independent Englishmen with the cognizance of any offence committed against himself or his administration. On all such occasions, he had recourse to a high court of justice, where the judges, appointed by himself, were the sole jury, against whom no challenge was admitted, and from whom there was no appeal but to the Protector in council—the party most interested in the cause, and consequently the most desirous to obtain a sentence of condemnation.

The joy attending the Restoration, inauspicious as that event appeared to discerning eyes from the very first, gave ample proof that the government of the Protector had never gained the hearts of the great mass of the people. The impression produced by religious reverence was obliterated, the expectation of political improvement had been deceived; and nothing at last remained but the terror of musketeers and dragoons to keep the citizens of London from open rebellion. Hence, when Oliver died, a load was removed from the national mind.

The steps by which Cromwell rose to power, eluded completely the observation of his contemporaries, and have rather been discovered by the analysis of authors who have written since his time, than handed down in the annals of the commonwealth. The estimate of his talents, too, has been the result of reflection in later times; for those who acted with him, never saw at once the full extent of his plans, and could not, of course, appreciate the fitness of the means which he employed to effect his leading objects. Perhaps his original designs were less profound and extensive than those which speculative men have been wont to ascribe to him; and the account of his procedure as given in the hearing of Barbone's parliament, may have been literally cor-

rect: "It hath been the way God hath dealt with us all along, to keep things from our eyes, that we have seen nothing in all his dispensations long beforehand." In this point of view, we must return to the more natural supposition formerly stated, that Oliver availed himself of contingencies which he could not foresee, and made use of events which he had no power to direct; and hence, that he exercised less sagacity, and was chargeable with a smaller degree of meditated crime, than his biographers have been pleased to imagine.

It has often been remarked, that most men who have risen to eminence, in science, literature, or government, have owed more to the particular circumstances in which they found themselves placed than to transcendent ability or even to intense application. The tide in the affairs of the human being which carries him on to fortune, frequently arises from an influence as little connected with his own genius or intentions as the tide which moves the great ocean: and never did the history of any man illustrate the statement now made, in a manner so striking and instructive, as the early life of Cromwell compared with the power to which he actually attained, and the objects which he might have accomplished. His origin, which was by no means splendid, and his talents, which were certainly not of the first order, furnish us, while we review his biography, with the materials for forming a contrast between what he was and what he achieved, rather than with the means of explaining how such a man should have risen to the height of supreme authority, in a nation peculiarly jealous of individual control, and, at that period especially, distinguished by an unusual degree of vigour and independence in all classes of the community. By aking the lead in the wildest excesses of anarchy, ae at length obtained the direction of the most daring minds. By trampling on the ancient laws of his ountry, he acquired the credit and reverence of a

lawgiver. By opposing his sovereign as the most uncompromising of rebels, he raised himself to the rank of a king; and, in a word, although he commenced his career by the most frantic outrages, he had the good luck to terminate it in the repose of a settled government.

But thus it ever is in most things wherein one man chances to find a name and a memorial above his fellows. The genius and labours of many generations have been employed in collecting the materials, and in constructing the machine, which some happy mechanist is destined to put in motion, and apply to the most valuable purposes; and when the time has arrived, and all the conditions are fulfilled, he has only to put forth his hand, when, behold! the wheels begin to revolve as it were of their own accord, and to realize all the hopes which were ever entertained by the most sanguine projector. To the philosopher, to the statesmen, and even sometimes to the warrior, one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years are as one day; and nothing is more certain than that, in regard to the most splendid prizes which crown the ambition of man in this lower world, the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong.

The great art of attaining success, in all commotions excited by political or religious change, is founded on the knowledge of character, and on the talent of directing to a particular object the passions of the multitude, and the ambition of their more active leaders. By this mastery over the feelings and designs of his contemporaries, Cromwell, there is no doubt, acquired the means of accomplishing the most arduous parts of his undertaking. He thereby broke the power of parliament from whom he first derived his authority; wielded the mighty influence arising from religious sentiment; and, finally, induced the majority of a democratical government to accede to his desire of ascending the throne, as the

avowed monarch of three kingdoms which he had in effect subdued.*

Of Cromwell it may be said that he was rather a remarkable man than a great one, and that the story of his life excites in the mind of the reader more of surprise than of admiration. The elements of true greatness were deficient in his character: he wanted especially self-denial, sincerity, and gratitude. He was even destitute of that sensibility, or delicacy of feeling, without which no man can attain the higher degrees of excellence. The mere circumstance, for example, trifling as it may appear, of his occupying at Whitehall one of the king's beds, while his majesty was under the hands of his jailer in the Isle of Wight, argues a base spirit; and the disgust which arises from this contrast is not a little increased when we are told, that while in possession of the royal bedchamber, and even reclining on the couch, he gave audiences to the principal persons in the republican government.

It is indeed mortifying to human pride to reflect how mean and worthless, on many occasions, are the individuals who start up from obscure life to seize the loftiest and most commanding positions in society. In the case of Cromwell, however, we see qualities which were adapted exclusively to the period in which he lived, and which, at any other

* "I have often observed, with all submission and resignation of spirit to the inscrutable mysteries of Eternal Providence, that when the fulness and maturity of time is come that produces the greatest confusions and changes in the world, it usually pleases God to make it appear, by the manner of them, that they are not the effects of human force and policy, but of the divine justice and predestination; and though we see a man like that which we call a Jack of the clock-house, striking as it were the hour of that fulness of time, yet our reason must needs be convinced that the hand is moved by some secret, and, to us who stand without, invisible direction. And the stream of the current is then so violent that the strongest men in the world cannot draw up against it, and none are so weak but they may sail down with it. These are the spring-tides of public affairs, which we see often happen, but seek in vain to discover any certain causes."—Cowley's *Essay on the Government of Oliver Cromwell.*

time, by being confined to a very limited range, could not have produced any deep or permanent impression on public affairs. His enthusiasm, and fanatical propensities would, at a more tranquil epoch, have spent themselves on local objects and domestic reformation. He might have figured at a county meeting or a Bible society, and under the mask of his natural dissimulation, have acquired a character for zeal, patriotism, and independence; but in a peaceful, settled period, such as that we have supposed, his abilities would not have enabled him to surmount the obstacles that attached to his condi tion in life, and to reach any marked distinction in civil or military pursuits.

In comparing what Cromwell actually accomplished with the means of which he was possessed, no writer has been more successful than Cowley; who, in the discourse already referred to, speaks of him in the following terms. "What can be more extraordinary, than that a person of mean birth, no fortune, no eminent qualities of body, which have sometimes, or of mind, which have often, raised men to the highest dignities, should have the courage to attempt, and the happiness to succeed in, so improbable a design as the destruction of one of the most ancient and most solidly founded monarchies upon earth; that he should have the power or boldness to put his prince and master to an open and infamous death; to banish that numerous and strongly-allied family; to do all this under the name and wages of a parliament; to trample upon them, too, as he pleased, and spurn them out of doors when he grew weary of them; to raise up a new and unheard-of monster out of their ashes; to stifle that in the very infancy, and to set himself up above all things that ever were called sovereign in England; to oppress all his enemies by arms, and all his friends afterward by artifice: to serve all parties patiently for awhile, and to command them victoriously at last; to overrun

each corner of the three nations, and overcome with equal facility both the riches of the south and the poverty of the north; to be pleased and courted by all foreign princes, and adopted a brother to the gods of the earth; to call together parliaments with a word of his pen, and scatter them again with the breath of his mouth; to be humbly and daily petitioned that he would please to be hired at the rate of two millions a year; to be the master of those that hired him before to be their servant; to have the estates and lives of three kingdoms as much at his disposal as was the little inheritance of his father, and to be as noble and liberal in the spending of them; and, lastly (for there is no end of all the particulars of his glory), to bequeath all these with one word to his posterity; to die with peace at home and triumph abroad; to be buried among kings, and with more than regal solemnity; and to leave a name behind him not to be extinguished but with the whole world, which, as it is not too little for his praises, so might have been too for his conquests, if the short line of his human life could have been stretched out to the extent of his immortal designs?"*

Oliver has obtained some reputation as a patron of the arts and a friend of literature. The University of Oxford is said to have been benefited by his liberality, and it is certain that he gave his consent to have an annual sum withdrawn from the church lands in Scotland, to aid the revenue of King James's College at Edinburgh.† The College of Glasgow, in like manner, obtained various donations through the good offices of the Protector. Among others, he paid, in the year 1654, a subscription for the University library, which had been made by Charles the First, when on a visit to his northern kingdom in the year 1633.‡ A similar obligation entered into by

* Cowley's Discourse on the government of Oliver Cromwell.
† See Note H
‡ See Note I.

James Marquis of Hamilton, in 1631, to pay a thousand merks for the purpose just stated, was discharged in August, 1656, by the treasurer of the sequestrated estates under the government of Cromwell. Indeed, the benefactions conferred by the Protector on the University of Glasgow, commonly supposed to have been obtained through the influence of Mr. Patrick Gillespie, the principal, are understood to have been very considerable, exceeding greatly all that had ever been derived from our native princes, or from any public authority prior to the era of the commonwealth.

But it must not be forgotten that, owing to the plunder extorted from the royalists, as well as the immense funds raised by taxation, the Protector received from the public more money in one year than Charles the First could raise in ten; and, moreover, that although Oliver found in the treasury which he inherited from the Long Parliament, more than 80,000*l.* the fleets and armies at the same time being fully paid, he left a debt of about two millions and a half, and his soldiers and sailors in arrear for several months. It is said that he spent 60,000*l.* per annum on spies and informers, employed in foreign courts as well as at home; a sum, when compared to which his grants in support of learning sink into the merest insignificance. Still he deserves approbation for what he did or intended for the promotion of learning, in both divisions of the island; and I am happy to have had it in my power to supply evidence that, in one case at least, he fulfilled the wishes of his predecessor, whose means were always so much restricted.

We are from time to time put in mind, by the friends of the Protector, that he remitted the duty on the paper used in printing Walton's polyglot Bible; and, moreover, that he defrayed one-half of the expense incurred by the funeral of Archbishop Usher.

Had his patronage of sacred literature not extended beyond so trifling a matter as this relaxation of an injudicious impost, his name would never have found a place among those wise men who study the best interests of their country. And as to the generosity displayed in doing the last honours to one of the most distinguished scholars of his age, it was observed, at the time, that the share of the outlay left to be defrayed by the relations, far exceeded the charge of an ordinary burial, and threw them into great embarrassments. It was even insinuated that Oliver had this latter object in view; because although he felt himself bound to show some respect to the memory of the primate, he hated his connexions, and meant to punish them under cover of a public compliment. At all events, it was an odd species of kindness in the head of a great nation to issue orders for a public funeral, and to leave half of the expense undefrayed.

The attempt to found a University at Durham, and to secure a revenue for it from the funds of the bishop and chapter, received the countenance of Cromwell; but was, in the end, successfully opposed by Oxford and Cambridge, on the usual grounds, that the kingdom did not require a third seat of learning, and that the power of conferring degrees would interfere with their privileges and vested rights. The warrant issued for this purpose under the privy seal of the Lord Protector, is to be found in the historical collections of Peck, constituting the appendix to his Memoirs of Cromwell; and some reasons against the increase of such institutions are recorded in a note at the bottom of this page, as being too remarkable to be altogether omitted.*

* "From thence (Lieutenant Dove's house, where they had a meeting) we came to Durham, where was a man come down from London to set up a college there, to make ministers of Christ, as they said. I went, with some others, to reason with the man, and to let him see, 'That to teach men Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and the seven arts,—which was

Except his letters and speeches, I know not tha Cromwell has bequeathed to posterity any literary production. A sermon, indeed, which bears his name, has appeared in print; but whether it be au thentic, and was published with his consent, are points which cannot now be established. Dr. Grey, in his notes to Hudibras, states that he had the Protector's sermon in his possession, the title of which was "Cromwell's learned, devout, and conscientious exercise, held at Sir Peter Temple's in Lincoln's-Inn-fields, upon Romans xiii. 1." It admits of no doubt, however, that he frequently preached, and took great pleasure in that part of his military duty; and, accordingly, when an article was inserted in the Petition and Advice against "public preachers being members of parliament," he expressly opposed it:

all but the teachings of the natural man—was not the way to make them ministers of Christ; for the languages began at Babel; and to the Greeks that spoke Greek as their mother tongue, the cross of Christ was foolishness; and to the Jews that spake Hebrew as their mother tongue, Christ was a stumbling-block. And as for the Romans, who had the Latin and Italian, they persecuted the Christians: and Pilate, one of the Roman governors, set Hebrew, Greek, and Latin a-top of Christ THE WORD, when they crucified him. And John the Divine, who preached the word that was in the beginning, said, that the *beast and the whore have power over tongues and languages, and they are as waters.* Thus I told him he might see the beast and the whore have power over the tongues and the many languages, which are in mystery *Babylon*, for they began at Babel; and the persecutors of Christ Jesus set them over Him, when he was crucified by them. But he has risen over them all, who was before them all. Now (said I to this man) dost thou think to make ministers of Christ by these natural confused languages, which sprang from Babel, are admired in Babylon, and set a-top of Christ, the Life, by a persecutor? Oh no! So the man confest to many of these things.' Then we showed him farther, 'That Christ made ministers himself, and gave gifts unto them, and bid them pray to the Lord of the harvest to send forth labourers. And Peter and John, though unlearned and ignorant (as to school learning), preached before Christ Jesus the WORD which was in the beginning before Babel was. Paul also was made an apostle, *not of man*, nor *by man*, neither received he the gospel from *man*, but from Jesus Christ, who is the same now, and so is his gospel as it was that day.' When we had thus discoursed with the man he became very loving and tender, and after he had considered further of it, he never set up his college."—*From G Fox his Journal*, folio, p 281, anno 1657.

stating that he himself "was one, and diverse officers of the army, by whom much good had been done." By giving money, therefore, he conferred upon science and education the only patronage that an illiterate ruler can bestow.

In conclusion, it may be remarked, that the life of Cromwell holds forth many lessons of practical wisdom to all orders of men. Rulers may learn from it, that the oldest and most firmly established governments cannot resist the united voice of the people, whensoever they are taught to believe that their rights are withheld, or that undue burdens are laid upon their shoulders. The community may perceive from the various events which compose it, that the dissolution of civil authority almost inevitably leads to the triumph of armed force, and that the advocates of speculative freedom seldom fail to become the instruments or victims of arbitrary power. Finally, the adventurer cannot but be convinced, by the rise of Oliver, and the precarious position in which, after all his labours, he found himself placed, that no degree of violence can long suppress the original attachments of a great nation, or scatter the elements which constituted the primitive forms of their society.

NOTICE.

THE first two articles in the Appendix did not come into my possession until after the first volume was printed. They respect the invasion of Scotland by Cromwell in the year 1648, and are important, as they tend to illustrate his military character, and the excellent discipline which he kept up in his army. They have not heretofore been published. The reader is indebted for them to the politeness of Mr. Macdonald, of the General Register House of Scotland, where the original letters are deposited.

The "Grant" of 200*l.* per annum to the University of Edinburgh, dated at Hampton Court, in July, 1658, is a copy of the original MS., which is to be found in the same depository. The document is interesting, not only on account of its object, but more especially as it shows that Oliver, in his latter days, considered himself Protector of the three kingdoms "by the grace of God." I am not aware that this paper has ever before been printed. It was written about six weeks prior to the death of Cromwell.

For a copy of the Deed conferring a similar donation on the University of Glasgow by Charles the First, but which was actually paid by the Protector, I am under an obligation to the Reverend Doctor Lee, whose knowledge of Scottish history and antiquities has contributed so much to the elucidation of our national annals in church and state.

Another original document appears in the letter by General Monk to the sheriff of Renfrewshire, announcing the death of the Lord Protector. This the reader owes to the kind condescension of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, who are in possession of the autograph, and who allowed it to be copied for this Life of Oliver Cromwell.

The information respecting the residence and first rise of our hero, alluded to at page 17 of the first volume, was politely furnished to me by Mr. Carruthers of Inverness.

There is in the Appendix an extract from a very rare work published at Leith in 1653, and entitled "The Survey of Policy

or a Free Vindication of the Commonwealth of England against Salmasius and other Royalists, by Peter English, a Friend to Freedom." The main object of the quotation is to show that, in the time of Cromwell, an expectation or dread of the Second Advent mixed in all speculations on civil government and general politics. In other respects, too, the tract is extremely curious.

LEITH, *Nov.* 1829.

NOTES.

For the Right Hon^ble^ the Committee of Estates for the Kingdome of Scotland, These:

RIGHT HONOBLE,

BEING vpon my approach to the borders of the kingdome of Scotland, I thought fitt to acquaint you of the reason thereof. t's well knowne how iniuriously the kingdome of England was ately invaded by the armye vnder Duke Hamilton, contrary to the covenant and our leagues of amity; and against all the engagem^ts^ of loue and brotherhood between the two nations; and notwithstanding the pretence of your late declaration, publish'd to tak with the people of this kingdome. The Commons of England, in parliam^t^ assembled, declared the said armie soe entring as enemyes to the kingdome, and those of England who should adhere to them as traytors. And having receiued commands to march w^th^ a considerable part of their army to oppose soe greate a violation of faith and iustice, what a witness (God being appealed too) hath borne vpon the engagem^t^ of the two armyes against the vnrighteousnesse of man, not onely yourselves, but this kingdome, yea, and a greate part of the knowne world, will, I trust, acknowledge how dangerous a thing it is to wage an vniust warre, much more to appeale to God, the righteous iudge therein; wee trust hee will perswade you better by this manifest token of his displeasure, least his hand be stretched out yet more against you, and your poore people alsoe, if they wilbe deceiued. That which I am to demand of you is the restitution of the garrisone of Barwick and Carlile into my hands for the vse of the parliam^t^ and kingdome of England. If you deny me herein, I must make our appeale to God, and call vpon him for assistance in what way hee shall direct vs; wherein wee are, and shalbe, s^re^ farr from seeking the harme of the wel' affected people of the kingdome of Scotland, that wee profess (as before the Lord) that what difference an army necessitated in an hostile way to recover the auncient rights and inheritance of the

kingdome (vnder which they serve) can make, wee shall vse our endeavour to the vtmost that the trouble may fall vpon the contrivers and authors of this breach: and not vpon the poore innocent people, who have been led and compelled into this action, as many poore soules, now prisoners to vs, confess. We thought our selues bound in duty thus to expostulate with you; and thus to profess, to th'end wee may beare our integrity out before the world, and may haue comfort in God, whatever the event bee. Desireing your answer, I rest

Your Lopps humble servant,
O. Cromwell.

Septembr ye 16th,
1648.

(Copied from the original in the General Register House, Edinburgh.)

Oliver Cromwell to the Committee of Estates
21st Sept. 1648.

Right Honourable,

Wee perceiue that there was upon our advance to the borders, the last Lord's day, a very disorderly carriage by some horse, who, without order did steale over the Tweed, and plundred some places in the kingdome of Scotland; and since that some straglers have been alike faulty to the wrong of the inhabitants, and to our very greate greife of heart. I have been as diligent as I can to finde out the men that have done the wrong, and I am still in the discovery thereof, and I trust it shall appeare to you that there shalbe nothing wanting on my part that may testifie how much wee abhorre such things; and to the best of my information I cannot finde the least guilt of the fact to lye upon the regiments of this army, but upon some of the northern horse who have not been under our discipline and government, untill just that wee came into these parts. I have commanded those forces away back againe into England, and I hope the exemplarity of justice will testifie for us our greate detestation of the fact; for the remayneing forces, which are of our old regiments, wee may engage for them their officers will keepe them from doinge any such thinges; and wee are confident that, saving victuall, they shall not take any thing from the inhabitants, and in that alsoe they shalbe soe farre from being their own as that they shall submitt to have provisions ordered and proportiond by the consent, and with the direction, of the committees and gentlemen of the country; and not otherwise. If they please to be assisting to us therein, I thought fitt,

for the preventing of misunderstanding, to give your lordshipps this accompt, and rest,

My lords,
Your most humble servant,
O. CROMWELL.

Norham, 21st September, 1648.

For the Right Honourable the Committee of Estates of the Kingdome of Scotland, at Edinburgh, These.

NOTE A—p. 8.

To his Excellency THOMAS LORD FAIRFAX, General of the English Forces.

The humble Addresses of diverse well-affected persons, in behalfe of all those that are under restraint or censure of the Councel of War or Law Martiall.

May it please your Excellency,

FORASMUCH as the Petition of Right, and other the known laws of the land, do expressly provide against the exercise of martiall law upon souldiers in times of peace, all courts of justice being open, and that the deprivation of life thereby in such times hath been adjudged in law no lesse than murther. And forasmuch as you have declared to all the world, that the army under your Excellency's command was not a mere mercenary army, hired to serve the arbitrary ends of a state; but that they took up arms in judgement and conscience for your own and the people's just rights, the principall wherof are contained in the foresaid laws and Petition of Right. And finding neverthelesse, those our undoubted liberties never more encroached upon by the military power and law martiall. Souldiers and others of late being frequently seized, restrained, and adjudged to death, and to reproachfull punishments, without any regard to the law of the land, and tryall of twelve sworne men of the neighbourhood, as is manifest in your present proceedings against those souldiers and others now under restraint and censure of the Councell of War. Hereupon we conceive ourselves bound in conscience, in behalfe of the liberties of the people of England, to intreat and claim the benefit of those liberties contained in the Petition of Right, and other the good lawes of this land: and that all persons now under restraint or censure of the Councell of War or martiall law may be remitted to the tryall of twelve sworne men of the neighbourhood, and be proceeded against by due processe of law; which we humbly conceive

your Excellency and the whole army are, both by law and your many declarations, engaged to perform, and whereby only you will render yourself acceptable to the present and honourable to future generations.

Robert Shaw,	Thomas Hawes,
Thomas Moulson,	Thomas Frisbe,
George Atkinson,	Walter Allen.

April 27, 1649.

Mr. Robert Shaw and the rest went with this petition, and after that came to Whitehall, and there related to the prisoners what they had done in the businesse; and then M. Atkinson addressed himself, at M. Lockier's request, to the Marshall General, and acquainted him with the particular carriage in the businesse, how they had drawn up a petition to the Generall, and did desire he would stay till they had an answer. He replied, that if so they should wait upon the Generall for an answer, and meet him at Paul's, for there he was appointed to suffer. And to that end Mr. Shaw, Mr. Atkinson, and others went to the Generall, whom they found at Gray's Inn, in Sir Thomas Withrington's lodgings, and with much adoe were admitted to speak with him. Unto whom Mr. Atkinson spake to this effect: May it please your Excellency, We are come in the behalf of a poor distressed man that is appointed this day and almost ready to die, in whose behalf we only desire your Excellency be pleased to pardon, or but to reprieve him till to-morrow. And we are the rather encouraged thereunto by reason of your wonted mercy in this particular. To whom he replyed, You come here about the saving of a souldier who is already condemned by the Councell of Officers under me, and for a great crime of mutinie, wherein were engaged many more besides him, at least fifteen; and I think, in such a high businesse as this is, you never knew a generall to pardon so many as I have done; and now he is to suffer by a course of martiall law, and it being past, it cannot be recalled. To which we answered: Your Excellency hath shown much mercy to poor men in the like nature, that did deserve more to die than he did; therefore we were emboldened to sue to your Excellency for him. To which he answered, that he conceived he deserved to suffer as he did, and that it did behove us, if we were his friends, to prepare him for another world; and not to do as we do, to countenance him in any thing that is not regular nor safe, for he had like to have made a great fraction in the city and army, and for that he is to die, and it lies not in my power to preserve him. Then we did beseech his Excellency to reprieve him but till to-morrow; but he would not condescend to neither; and so much passed to this effect, but nothing at all obtained from him.

Note B—p. 45.

I have here brought into one view all the Notes with respect to the Scottish invasion and the Battle of Dunbar.

The campaign, as usual, was preceded by the issue of proclamations on both sides. That by the Scottish parliament, in which they state the grounds of their quarrel, and the object for which they were about to take arms, was very generally circulated throughout the country. A copy of it was by Lesley sent to Cromwell, who, after due consideration, returned it to his former friend.

"Under pretence of the Covenant, mistaken and wrested from its intent and equity, a king is taken in by you, to be imposed on us, and this called the cause of God and the kingdom; together with a disowning malignants, though this your king is at the head of them; hath a popish party fighting for him in Ireland; hath in his service Prince Rupert, whose hands have been deep in English blood, at the head of ships stolen from us on a malignant account; hath French and Irish ships daily making depredations on our coasts; and hath issued out commissions to raise armies in the bowels of our country. How the interest you pretend to have received this man upon, and the malignant interest in the ends and consequences centering in him, can be secured, we cannot discern; nor yet understand how whilst known malignants are fighting and plotting against us on the one hand, and you declaring for him on the other, it should not be an espousing of a malignant party quarrel, or interest, but a fighting upon former grounds and principles, and in the defence of God and the two kingdoms."

Cromwell remarks, that the Scots "had like to have engaged our rear-guard of horse with their whole army, had not the Lord by his providence put a cloud over the moon, thereby giving us an opportunity to draw off those horse to the rest of the army."

This supposed interposition of divine power may be explained by a reference to the well-known fact, that the English general wished to impress upon the nation at large the belief that he was a favoured child of Providence, and blessed at all times with a special protection. But the cause, on the present occasion, does not seem adequate to the effect; a cloud over the moon could hardly conceal a whole brigade of horse from an active enemy pressing on their heels. Captain Hodgson, who had no particular object to serve, explains the whole mystery in a way perfectly intelligible to an inhabitant of the eastern coast of Scotland. "Our army," says he, "grew weaker every day than another: and as we were drawing homeward towards

Haddington, the Scots came up close to us; *and it was a misty evening.*"—*Memoirs*, p. 143.

The Lord General's Proclamation concerning the Wounded Men left in the Field.

Forasmuch as I understand there are several soldiers of the enemie's army yet abiding in the field, who by reason of their wounds could not march from thence: These are therefore to give notice to the inhabitants of this nation, that they may and have free liberty to repair to the field aforesaid, and with their carts, or any other peaceable way, to carry the said soldiers to such places as they shall think fit, provided they meddle not, or take away the arms there; and all officers and soldiers are to take notice that the same is permitted. Given under my hand at Dunbar.

Sept. 4, 1650.

To be proclaimed by beat of drum.

O. CROMWELL.

A LETTER FROM THE LORD-LIEUTENANT TO THE LORD DEPUTY-GENERAL OF IRELAND.

SIR,

Though I heare not often from you, yet I knowe you forget mee not. Thinke so of mee, for I often remember you at the Throne of Grace. I heard of the Lord's good hand with you in reducing Waterford, Duncanon, and Caterlogh, his name be praised.

We have been engaged upon a service the fuliest of tryall ever poore creatures were upon. We made great professions of love, knowing wee were to deale with many who were godly, and pretended to be stumbled at our invasion; indeede, our bowels were peirced againe and againe, the Lord helped us to sweet words, and in sincerity to meane them, we were rejected againe and againe, yet still we begged to be believed that wee oved them as our owne soules; they often returned evill for good. We prayed for security, they would not heare our answer a word to that; we made often appeals to God. They appealed also. Wee were neere engagements three or foure times, but they lay upon advantages. A heavie flux fell upon our army brought it very lowe, from 14 to 11 thousand, 3500 horse, and 7500 foote. The enemy 16,000 foote, and 6000 horse The enemy prosecuted the advantage; wee were necessitated, and upon 7ber the 3d, by six in the morning, we attempted their army,

after a hot dispute for about an houre, wee routed their whole army, killed neere 3000, and tooke, as the Marshall informs me, ten thousand prisoners, their whole traine, being about thirty pieces, great and small, good store of powder, match, and bullet, neere two hundred colors. I am persuaded neere fifteene thousand armes left upon the ground. And I believe, though many of ours be wounded, wee lost not above thirtie men. Before the fight our condition was made very sad, the enemy greatly insulted and menaced, but the Lord upheld us with comfort in himselfe beyond ordinary experience. I knowing the acquainting you with this great handy-worke of the Lord would stir up your minds to praise and rejoycing, and not knowing but your condition may require mutual experiences for refreshment, and knowing also that the newes we had of your successes was matter of helpe to our fayth in our distresse, and matter of praises also, I thought fitt (though in the middest of much businesse) to give you this account of the unspeakable goodness of the Lord, who hath thus appeared, to the glory of his great name, and the refreshment of his saints.

The Lord bless you and us to return praises, to live them all our dayes. Salute all our deere friends with you, as if I named them. I have no more, but rest

Your loving father and true friend,

O. Cromwell.

Dunbar, Sept. 4, 1650.

There is no reasonable ground to doubt that Cromwell, who calculated his despatches for other purposes besides giving a statement of facts, greatly exaggerated the loss of the Scots in the battle of Downhill. Balfour, who held a public office at the time, states, as is mentioned in the text, that the number of killed amounted to about eight or nine hundred. Sir Edward Walker, too, who was in Scotland at the same period, and saw the defeated officers after they were reassembled under Lesley and Middleton, relates that about 2000 common soldiers were killed, and that five or six thousand were taken prisoners. He adds, "a thousand of the wounded men were in a gallantry sent as a present by Cromwell to the Countess of Winton." This statement as to the amount of prisoners, quadrates exactly with the number mentioned in Sir Arthur Hazlerig's letter, referred to in the text. According to his calculation, the Scottish captives who crossed the Tweed fell somewhat short of 3500; of whom 350 were handed over to Major Clerk, and "3000 were told into the great cathedral church" of Durham. It is suspected that a good many made their escape between Dunbar and Berwick. Thus, concludes Sir Edward, "this powerful army, of about 16,000 foot and 7000 horse, was totally routed; and though not many of them in proportion were either slain

or made prisoners, yet very few of the rest have since imbodied at Sterling; but have shifted for themselves, crying out that they were betrayed, and that they would never fight again under those commanders who so basely deserted them."—"Most of the horse saved themselves, and so did the committee and ministers, who fled with the first." It must not be omitted, however, that Cromwell wrote to Sir Arthur Hazlerig that he had 9000 prisoners; and that he said in his letter to the President of the Council, that he had dismissed between 4000 and 5000 wounded men, "sick and almost starved."—Rare humanity!

For the Honble, the Committee for the army, Theise.

Gentl.

It was not a little wonder to me to see that you should send Mr. Symonds so great a journey about a business importing so little as far as it relates to me; when, as if my poore opinione may not be rejected by you, I have to offer to that which I thinke the most noble end, to witt, the commemoracon of that great mercie att Dunbar, and the gratuitie to the army; which might better be expressed upon the meddall by engraving as on the one side the parliament, which I heare was intended, and will do singularly well, so on the other side an army, with this inscription over the head of it, The Lord of Hosts, which was our word that day: wherefore, If I may beg it as a favour from you, I most earnestly beseech you, if I may do it without offence, that it may be so; and if you thinke not fitt to have it as I offer, you may alter it as you see cause; only I doe thinke I may truly say it will be verie thankfully acknowledged by me, if you will spare the having my effigies in it.

The gentleman's paynes and trouble hither have been verie great; I shall make it my second suite unto you, that you will please to conferr upon him that imployment in your service which Nicolas Briott had before him; indeed the man is ingenious, and worthie of encouragement. I may not presume much, but if at my request and for my sake, he may obteyn this favour, I shall putt it upon the accompt of obligacons, which are not a few, and I hope shal be found readie gratefully to acknowledge and to approve myself,

Gentlemen,

Your most reall servant,

O. CROMWELL.

Edin. 4th of Feb. 1650–1.

The medal spoken of above, engraved by Synons (who well deserved this patronage), bore, notwithstanding Cromwell's *modesty* on the occasion, an admirable likeness of him, as appears by comparing it with his portrait by Walker, taken about the same time. The legend was permitted to be as he desired

See "Medals, great seals, impressions, from the elaborate works of Thomas Simon, chief engraver of the mint to King Charles I., to the Commonwealth, the Lord Protector Cromwell, and in the reign of Charles II. to 1665, by George Vertue." Pp. 13, 4to, 1753.

The following letter from Lord Loudon to the Lord Provost and Bailies of Edinburgh, appears worthy of insertion, as descriptive of the state of things which preceded the battle of Dunbar. Maitland, from whose history it is extracted, mentions that Oliver Cromwell, with the English army, was encamped near to Pentland Hill about three miles besouth Edinburgh, and that the Scottish army was then lying in the meadow on the eastern side of Corstorphin to observe their motions; whence the latter subsequently removed, and drew up the acclivity at the western side of the village just named:

"My Lord Provost,

"The best service you can do your brethren is to send out bread and cheese, or other meat, to give them for this night and the morrow morning, for they will sup no more until the Lord deliver us and them, or declare his pleasure on the contrary. Send out the baxters with their own bread and hors together, accommodat all you can, for truly they deserve it, and God is hitherto with them to our comfort. Send your provisions in by the other side of Corstorphin; we ar drawn up from bewest Corstorphin meadow to the west along the bray sid. Let Mr. John Drummond come along with them, to distribute and order it rightlie. You are desired to stand to your arms: ply the Lord and his throne with strong supplication for us and his caus. It is easie with him, if he will, to deliver us, and there is no help for us but in his name.

"We commend you to God, and rest your assured friend,

"LOUDON."

NOTE C—p. 67

December 19th, 1650

ARTICLES treated of, concluded, and agreed upon, by Major Andrew Abbernethie, and Captaine Robert Henderson of the one party, on the behalfe of Walter Dundasse, Esqu. governour of the Castle of Edinburgh; and by Colonel George Monke, and Lieut.-col. Francis White, on the other party, on the behalfe of his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell, for the rendition of the said Castle, according to the articles ensuing:

1. That the Castle of Edinburgh, with the cannon, armes,

ammunition, and magazeens and furniture of war (except what shall be excepted in the following articles), be rendred to his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell, or whom he shall appoint, on Tuesday next, being the 24th of this present December, by 12 of the clock, without wilfull spoil or embezillment.

2. That the publike registers, publike moveable, private evidences, and writs be transported to Fife or Stirling, and that wagons and ships be provided for the transporting of them

3. That for all the goods in the Castle belonging to any person whatsover, an edict be proclaimed to the people about Edinburgh to come, own, and receive their own; and if any be at a far distance or deed, a place may be provided in the towne of Edinburgh for keeping the same, untill they be owned; and after owning, they have liberty to carry them where they please.

4. That all persons whatsoever not belonging to the garrison, as men, women, and children, may have liberty to goe whither they will without trouble; and there have the free exercise of their callings and employments with safety, both to themselves and goods.

5. That the governour of the said Castle, and all military officers, commanders, and souldiers, of whatsoever condition (none excepted), may depart without any molestation, with their armes and baggage, with drums beating and colours flying, matches lighted at both ends, and ball in their mouths, as they usually are wont to march, and all their goods, with a free conduct to Brunt Island in Fife; or if any of the foresaid persons desire to transport themselves and goods anywhere else for their greater conveniency, it may with freedom be granted.

6. That all officers and souldiers, as well sick as hurt, shall have free liberty to remain in Edinburgh till they recover, and to enjoy the benefit of these articles.

7. That the number of horse and wagons, as many as the governour shall need for his own particular use, as also for the officers and souldiers, shall be sent them for the carrying of the aforesaid baggage to the foresaid places.

8. That Capt. Lieut. Car, Lieut. Streeton, Thomas Bundy, gunner, and Patrick Summerall, gunner, be sent to his excellency the Lord Gen. Cromwell this present Thursday, by 12 of the clock, for hostages, for the performance of the afore-written articles; and that the generall shall keep centinels about the Castle under the rock.

ANDREW ABBERNETHIE.
R. HENDERSON.

I doe approve, ratifie, and confirme the articles above written
W. DUNDASSE.

A list of the great guns taken in Edinburgh Castle, December 24, 1650.

Brass Pieces.

5 French canons, or canons from 7. 9 Dutch half canon, or 24l. demi. 2 culverings. 2 demi culverings. 2 minion. 3 3l. demi. 2 falcons. 28 brass drakes, called *Monkeys*.

Iron Guns.

The great iron murderer called *Muckle Megg*. 4 iron ordnance. 10 iron drakes, called Monkeys. 2 petards.

About 7 or 8000 arms. Between 3 and 4 score barrels of powder. Great store of canon-shot.

Note D—p. 79.

The desperate condition of affaires movd some of the best natured of the Presbiterian cleargie to thinke of some meane to bring as many hands to fight against the publike enemie as was possible; and therfor, notwithstanding all their acts of Assemblies and Commissions of the Kirke to the contrare, they declared all capable of charge in state and militia, who would satisfie the church, by a publike acknowledgement of their repentance for their accession to that sinfull and unlawful engadgment. The King commanded all who had a mind to serve him, to follow the churche's direction in this point. Thereupon Duke Hamilton, the Earles of Craufurd and Lauderdaill, with many others, were admitted to court, and numbers of officers ressaved and put in charge, and entrusted with new levies. My guilt in affronting the ministrie (as they calld it) in the person of Mr. Dick at Glasgow, and my other command in the west, retarded my admission very long; but at length I am absolved, and made adjutant-generall of the foot; and after the misfortunate rencounter at Innerkeithen, had once more Lieutenant generall Holburn's regiment given me, by his Majestie's command. Behold a fearfull sin! The ministers of the gospell ressaved all our repentances as unfained, thogh they knew well enough they were bot counterfeit; and we, on the other hand, made no scruple to declare that engadgment to be unlawfull and sinfull, deceitfullie speaking against our own consciences and judgments. If this was not to mock the all-knowing and all-seeing God to his face, then I declare myselfe not to know what a fearefull sinne hypocrisie is.

Note E—p. 80

Penance of Malignants

The rigid party among the ministers in those days inflicted public penance upon all who were convicted of loyalty to the king, except in subordination to the Covenant. Such noblemen as joined the Duke of Hamilton in his unfortunate expedition into England, in the year 1648, were the objects of peculiar indignation, and were subjected to the severest purgation in the ecclesiastical courts. The Earl of Loudon, chancellor of the kingdom, was among the first to submit to the censure of the reverend fathers, for having merely countenanced an enterprise in which he took no active share. Openly, in the face of the church, he did penance for his obedience to the parliament, which he condescended to call "*a carnal self-seeking*." He accompanied his acknowledgments with so many tears, and such pathetical addresses to the people for their prayers in this his uttermost sorrow and distress, that a universal weeping and lamentation took place among the deluded audience.—*Whitelock*, p. 360; *Hume*, vol. vii. p. 127.

The Earl of Lauderdale, at a somewhat later period, made a similar submission in the kirk of Largo, "for having a hand in the late unlawful engagement against England. First, he acknowledged the sinfulnesse and unlawfulness of that course: 2d, his sorrowe and remorse for having given accession thereto: 3d, his resolution, for the time to come, to be wary of such courses. After this, Mr. James Magill did read the Solemn League and Covenant, and he held up his hand and did swear to the same. So the kirk session gave him a peaper, subscribed by the minister and clerk, testifying that they were well satisfied with his repentance."—*Lamont's Diary*, p. 31.

Progress of Charles the Second in Scotland.

(*From Lamont's Diary*, 1650.)

"*June* 23.—The King's Majestie came from Hollande to this kingdome. The Commissioners before spoken of came with him. Upon the 1st of July he came to Dundie, wher the keyes of ther ports wer delivered to his Majesty, being made of silver He stayed ther two dayes, and was very courteously entertained. The 4th of July he came to St. Androws, and ther in like manner he received the keyes of ther ports, maed of silver. At the port, Mr. Andro Hyrniman, minist. ther, had a speech to him in English: after, he coming forwarde to the New Colledge, Mr. Samuell Rutherfoorde had a speeche to him in Latin, running

much on the dewtie of kings. On the morn after, Mr. Robert Blair did preach befoir him; his text was Psalm xx. v. 1, 2. The 9th of July, leaving St. Androw's, he came to Couper, wher he gat some desert to his foure hoires. The place wher he sat down to eat was the tolboothe. The towne had appointed Mr. Andro Andersone, schoolmaster ther for the tyme, to give him a musicke song or two while he was at tabell. Mr. David Douglas had a speeche to him at his entrie to the towne. After this he went to Faklande all night. All this tyme the most pairt of the gentlemen of the shyre did goe alonge with him. The tyme that he abode at Faklande, he went downe one daye and dyned at the E. of Weymes' house, and another at Lesly with the E. of Rothus From Faklande he went to St. Johnstone, from St. Johnst. to Dunfermling, from thence to Stirling; from Stirling he went to sie the armie that lay neare by Edenburgh and Leith, where he was welcomed with a very joyful declamation of the whole armie, as also with several shoote both great and small; from thence he came back to Dumfermling the 2d August (where he subscribed a declaration); from thence on the 16th of August to St. Johnstone. The 3d of October he went from St. John stone to Angus, being enticed by the Malignants to join with them, (wha about this tyme beganne to sturre); bot on the 6th of October he returned againe to St. Johnstone, and was sory for his escape. He was crowned at Scone, nire to St. John stone, Jan. 1, 1651. From St. Johnstone he came to Fakland, June 22, 1651. After he had stayed ther some dayes, he returned to St. Johnstone."

Fast kept during two days before the Coronation, appointed by the Commission of the Kirk.

"The causes of the first day (not read) was the great contempt of the gospell, holden forth in its branches. Of the second day, which were read, the sinnes of the king, and of his father's house, where sundry offences of King James the Sixth were acknowledged, and of King Charles the First, and of King Charles the Second, now king."

It was about the same time that Mr. Guthrie, minister of Stirling, said, "That if his majesty's heart were as upright as David's, God would no more pardon the sins of his father's house for his sake, than he did the sins of the house of Judah for the goodness of holy Josiah."—*Sir Edward Walker's Journal of Affairs*, p. 183.

Note F—p. 152.

To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, assembled in parliament, the representatives of the free-born people of England,

The humble petition of Marcellus Rivers and Oxenbridge Foyle, as well on the behalf of themselves as of threescore and ten freeborn people of this nation now in slavery,

Humbly showeth,

That your distressed petitioners and the others became prisoners at Exeter and Ilchester, in the west, upon pretence of Salisbury rising in the end of the year 1654, although many of them never saw Salisbury, nor bore arms, in their lives. Your petitioners and diverse of the others were picked up as they travelled upon their lawful occasions. Afterward, upon an indictment preferred against your petitioner Rivers, *ignoramus* was found; your petitioner Foyle never being indicted: and all the rest were either quitted by the jury of life and death, and never so much as tried or examined. Yet your petitioners and the others were all kept prisoners by the space of one whole year, and then on a sudden (without the least provocation) snatched out of their prisons, the greatest number by the command and pleasure of the then High-sheriff Coplestone, and others in power in the county of Devon, and driven through the streets of the city of Oxon (which is witness to this truth) by a guard of horse and foot (none being suffered to take leave of them), and so hurried to Plymouth aboard the ship John of London, Captain John Cole, master; where, after they had lain aboard fourteen days, the captain hoisted sail, and at the end of five weeks and fourteen days more, anchored at the isle of Barbadoes, in the West Indies, being (in sailing) four thousand and five hundred miles distant from their native country, wives, children, parents, friends, and whatever is near and dear unto them; the captive prisoners being all the way locked up under decks (and guards), among horses, that their souls through heat and steam, under the tropic, fainted in them; and they never, till they came to the island, knew whither they were going.

Being sadly arrived there on the May 7th, 1656, the master of the ship sold your miserable petitioners and the others, the generality of them, to most inhuman and barbarous persons for one thousand five hundred weight of sugar—a price, more or less, according to their working faculties, as the goods and chattels of Martin Noell and Major Thomas, Aldermen of London, and Captain H. Hatsell, of Plymouth, neither sparing the aged of seventy-six years old, nor divines, nor officers, nor gentlemen, nor any age or condition of men, but rendering all alike in this inseparable captivity, they now generally grinding at the mills and attending at the furnaces, or digging in this scorching island; having nought to feed on (notwithstanding their hard labour) but potato-roots, nor to drink, but water with such roots washed in it, besides the bread and tears of their own afflic

tions—being bought and sold still from one planter to another, or attached as horses and beasts for the debts of their masters—being whipped at the whipping-posts (as rogues) for their master's pleasure, and sleeping in sties worse than hogs in England, and many other ways made miserable, beyond expression or Christian imagination.

Humbly your petitioners do remonstrate on behalf of themselves and others their most deplorable and (as to Englishmen) their unparalleled condition; and earnestly beg that this high court, since they are not under any pretended conviction of law, will be pleased to examine this arbitrary power, and to question by what authority so great a breach is made upon the free people of England—they having never seen the faces of these their pretended owners, merchants that deal in slaves and souls of men, nor ever heard of their names before Mr. Cole made affidavit in the office of Barbadoes that he sold them as their goods, but whence they derived their authority for the sale and slavery of your poor petitioners and the rest, they are wholly ignorant to this very day. That this high court will be farther pleased to interest their power for the redemption and reparation of your distressed petitioners and the rest; or, if the names of your petitioners and the numbers of the rest be so inconsiderable as not to be worthy of relief or your tender compassion, yet, at least, that this court would be pleased, on the behalf of themselves and all the free-born people of England, by whose suffrages they sit in parliament, any of whose cases it may be next, whenever a like force shall be laid on them, to take course to curb the unlimited power under which the petitioners and others suffer: that neither you nor any of their brethren, upon these miserable terms, may come into this miserable place of torment. A thing not known among the cruel Turks, to sell and enslave those of their own country and religion, much less the innocent.

These things being granted, as they hope, their souls shall pray, &c.

Notes on Worcester.

The defeate of that part of the armie at Innerkeithen, Cromwell's march with most of his forces to St. Jonston, whereby he cut off all succourse of men and meate from the north, obliged the king, with the advice of the Committee of Estates, to lay present hold on occasion to leave the rebell behind him, and march with his whole armie from Stirline into England. The horse and dragoons might be about foure thousand; and the foot, as I reckoned them that day we marched from Stirline Parke, were upwards of nine thousand. A traine of artillerie of some field-peeces and leather cannon we had, with suteable ammunition, under the conduct of Sir James Wemis, general of

the artillerie. We got quicklie to English ground, bot with a great deale of mischefe to all those poore Scotch people in whose dwellings we marched, robbing and plundering being used by the sojors, even to admiration and inhumanitie. Neere to Carlile, the king is proclaimed King of England and Ireland, with the great acclamations of the armie, and severe commands made against all other robberies, plunderings, and exactions; which being put in execution by hanging two or three, were well enough observed, and very good order and discipline keepd the whole march.

For the Right Honourable WILL. LENTHALL, Esq., Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England.

SIR,

Being so weary and scarce able to write, yet I thought it my duty to let you know thus much, that upon this day, being the third of September (remarkable for a mercy vouchsafed to your forces on this day twelve moneth in Scotland), we built a bridge of boats over Severne, between it and Tame, about half a mile from Worcester; and another over Tame, within pistol-shot of our other bridge: Lieutenant-general Fleetwood and major-general Dean marched from Upton, on the south-west side of Severn, up to Poyick, a town which was a pass the enemy kept; we passed over some horse and foot, and were in conjunction with the lieutenant-general's forces; we beat the enemy from hedge to hedge, till we beat him into Worcester. The enemy then drew all his forces on the other side the town, all but what he lost, and made a very considerable fight with us for three hours' space; but in the end we beat him totally, and pursued him up to his royal fort, which we took, and, indeed, have beaten his whole army; when we took the fort, we turned his own guns upon him the enemy hath had great loss, and certainly is scattered and run several ways; we are in pursuit of him, and have laid forces in several places, that we hope will gather him up: indeed, this hath been a very glorious mercy, and as stiff a contest for four or five hours as ever I have seen; both your old forces and those new raised have behaved themselves with very great courage, and He that made them come out, made them willing to fight for you; the Lord God Almighty frame our hearts to real thankfulness for this, which is alone his doing! I hope I shall within a day or two give you a more perfect account; in the mean time I hope you will pardon,

Sir, your most humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.

Near Worcester, Sept. 3, 1651.
10 *at night.*

The Survey of Policy, or a free Vindication of the Commonwealth of England against Salmasius and other royalists. By Peter English, a Friend to Freedom.—Leith, 1653.

It is dedicated first, "To the very Honble. and truly godley the Lord-general Cromwell;" and next, "To the very Honble. Major-general Lambert, and the rest of the Honble. Commissioners for ordering and managing affairs in Scotland: as also to the Right Honble. Colonel R. Lilburne, Commander-in-Chief of the English forces in Scotland."

Peter English appears to have been a lawyer, a very subservient person, and to have had considerable hopes of preferment from the chief men in power. To Cromwell he says, "While I was thinking to whom I might dedicate this book, in which is asserted the authority and non-usurpation of the commonwealth of England, I judged non more fit than him to whose patronage I might commit it who hath most promoted the liberty lately obtained, under the power and protection of the God of Israel. And thus, among many, I made choice of your lordship."

After some discussion of the question as to whether subjects in any case ought to resist the reigning power (his own maxim was, "Let me obey the tyrant so long as he commandeth, but side with the people when they oppose him"), he exclaims, "O that constrained maintenance for upholding priests, chaplains, and masters in universities were at an end! Oh that all who are able and willing to preach the gospel might be encouraged with all due freedom and protection therein, upon all occasions and in all convenient places, without molestation, whether in private or in places of public meeting! All which shall come to pass when that is accomplished which is foretold in Isaiah, xxvi. 12, 14, 15." A little afterward he says—

"Nay, but, my lord, I cannot forget how that one day after another I hear large discourse of *Levelling*. But though the most part be for it, excepting the rich (as it was of old, in the dayes of *Agis* and Gracchus), I cannot well learn what is intended thereby. Only I find in it these two things, which be either redundant or defective, as to the nature of right levelling. First, some understand no more but the levelling of the law. Secondly, others overturn property so much, as that they intend no more use of the creation, but here to-day, and yonder to-morrow."

He then offers to write on the *Jewish*, *Athenian*, *Lacedæmonian* *Roman*, and other ancient commonwealths; but in allusion to the millennium, he observes, "O! but all of us will be prevented in these things by the sudden approach of the Ancient of Dayes, who, being come will level spirits, powers, and

estates. Till then there will be no more but the beginnings of liberty, the earnest of what shall be when the Lord alone shall be exalted, staining the pride of all glory, and bringing into contempt all the honourable of the earth. Yea, as I conceive, it is impossible a solid and entire freedom can be established till his approach; for then he shall judge among the nations, becoming our Lord, our King, and Lawgiver—the law going out of Sion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. I rest satisfied in the expectation thereof, not exercising myself in great matters, nor in things too high for me. When he cometh, crooked things shall be made straight, and mountains shall be made valleys. The Lord shall hasten it in his time."

"Lastly, I would offer my judgment to your lordship concerning the power of the people in choosing rulers. I shall only hint at this in a word. To me it is clear, that as nature in the state of fallen man (unless all should go to ruin), cannot be without government, even though all men by nature be free born, so neither are all capable of governing, nor of choosing to govern." "Nature being contaminated, all men upon that account are not fit to make choice of their rulers. For all men are either godly or ungodly. Now the major part of the people, being ungodly, will, and do, choose men like themselves, as experience teacheth, unlesse upon some selfish accompt they happen now and then, here and there, to choose some godly person or persons. But the Scripture doth not allow any to rule but the righteous. And, therefore, according to the word of God and the dictates of pure nature, godly men (who are known to be such by their fruits) should be searched thorowout all the tribes of Israel and appointed rulers. So did Moses. And our Moseses ought to do so too; to which the people in reason will be forced to condescend, and the rather when they see judgment and righteousness abounding, while the righteous govern. And, which is more, in all heathenish ancient commonwealths, in which the rulers were chosen by the people, the whole multitude therein followed the counsel of some few wise men among them. Otherwise the whole matter among them should have turned into confusion. And is it not known by experience, how that some one faction or other doth sway in all elections? though the free choice of the people be pretended. Now, the generality of the people are swayed rather by the disaffected then well-affected party, in al free choice, til they be constrained to do otherwise; which is a clear demonstration that they cannot improve their own interest, but are apt to give it up into the hands of strange lords and cruel taskmasters. And, therefore, all our wise and godly Moseses whom the Lord hath impowered ought to assay all means possible to find out, among the tribes of Israel, able men, such as fear God, men of truth, and hating covetousness that they may bear burden with them in

the management of affairs. And such of them as be poor, there is enough in the world to make them rich. But I do not expect the full accomplishment of such things till the Ancient of Dayes be come; for *I see under the sun the place of judgment (that) wickedness is there; and the place of righteousness (that) iniquity is there. I say in mine heart, God shall judge the righteous and the wicked; for (there is) a time there for every purpose and for every work.* Eccles. iii. 16, 17. Till which time (hoping all these things shall be acceptable to your lordship), I remain, &c. &c.

"P. ENGLISH."

NOTE G—p. 186.

GENERAL MONCK TO THE SHERIFF of RENFREWSHIRE.
10th Sept. 1658.

SIR,

ITT haveing pleased the most wise God in his providence to take out of this world that moste serene and renouned Oliver, late Lord Protector, whose name and memory will be ever pretiouse to all good men; and his said late Highness haveing in his lifetyme, according to the humble petition and advice, appointed and declared the most noble and excellent lord, the Lord Richard, eldest sonn of his saide late highnes, to succeed him in the governement: His highnes' councill heere have therefore, by direction of the Privy Councill in England, ordered the inclosed Proclamation to be published, of which they have sent you severall printed coppies heere inclosed, that you may duly proclaime the same in your sheriffedoome; and you are with all expedition to send some of the said printed coppies to the magistrates of each burgh royall therein.

Signed in the name and by order of the Councill,
GEORGE MONCK.

Edin. 10th September, 1658.
For the High Sherriffe of the Shire of Renfrew, These.

NOTE H—p. 246.

OLIVER, P.

OLIVER, by the grace of God Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, to all to whome theis presents shall come, greeting: "Know yee, that wee, aking into our consideration the condicione of the Universitie of Edinburgh, that (being but of late foundacione, viz^t. since the Reformation of Religion in Scotland) the rents thereof are exceeding small, and much thereof arising out of the beneficence of the citie of Edinburgh, the magistrates and councell thereof being the

founders and undoubted patrons of the said Universitie; Out of our good will to the advancement of the true religion and learning, and in prosecution of our order, bearing date at Whitehall, the fyve-and-twentieth day of August, in the yeare one thousand six hundred fifty and seaven, have given, graunted, and disponed, and for us and our successors doe heirby give, graunt, and dispone to the provost, bayliffs, councel, and communitie of the burgh of Edinburgh, and their successors, as founders, benefactors, and patrons of the said Universitie, to bee disposed of and expended for such uses as shalbee found most expedient for the good of the said Universitie by the councel of the burgh of Edinburgh, with advice and consent of the masters and regents of the said Universitie, all and whole the full revenue of two hundred pounds sterling yearelie, to bee receaved and taken out of any church-lands in Scotland not yet disposed of; and wee doe heirby empower and authorize our councel of Scotland to appoint the locality theirof as they shall think most effectuall for the use of the said Universitie; and ordeine the commissioners of our exchequer in Scotland to passe a signature thereupon in ordinarie forme, for securing the said Universitie theirof yearelie as said is; to bee holden of us and our successors in free blench for the yearlie payment of a penny English money at the terme of Whitsunday (if it be requird all-anerly); and that the said signatuir and charter to follow theirupon bee further extended with all clauses needfull; and especiallie requiring our commissioners of our exchequer afoirsaid, or our commissioners for administracione of justice to our people of Scotland, to direct lettres of horning on a charge of ten dayes, and other executorialls needfull, to commaund and charge the fewers, farmers, tenents, and tacksmen, and others adebted in payment of the fruits, rents, emoluments, and duties of such churchlands as shalbee given in localitie for the said revenue of two hundred pounds sterling yearelie, to readilie aunswer obey, and make thankfull payment of the same to the said provost, bayliffs, and theire successors, or to their chamberlaynes in theire names for the behoof and to the effect afoirsaid, aswel of all yeares and termes by gone that the said rents are adebted and resting owing as yearlie in all tyme comeing, the termes of payment theirof being by past; and that the said charter conteyne a precept of seising, and that precepts bee direct theirupon in due forme: And further, our will and pleasure is, and wee doe heirby require our said commissioners of our exchequer our chauncellor or keeper of our great seale of Scotland and director of our chancerie their, to passe and expede theis presents vnder our great seale of Scotland per saltum: And for soe doeing, theis presents shalbee to them and every of them a sufficient warrant under our signet, at our honour of Hampton Court, this two-and-twentieth day of July. 1658.

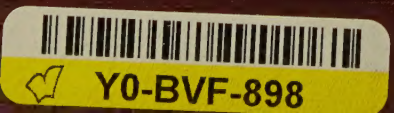
NOTE *, p. 246.

His Majesties' contribution was gratiouslie granted at Setoun ye 14 of Julie, 1633.

CHARLES R.

It is our gratious pleasure to grant, for advancement of the librarie and fabrick of the Colledge of Glasgow, the soume of Two Hundred Pounds Stirlm.

This soume was payed by ye Lord Protector, an. 1654.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